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The Shape of Things

EVER SINCE SERRANO SUNER, THE SPANISH Minister of Government, began his much-advertised visit to Berlin the German and Italian newspapers have been hinting of dramatic developments which would bring Spain into the war and so make possible the early capture of Gibraltar. It is easy to understand Axis preoccupation with the Rock, for it is the sheet-anchor of British naval control of the Mediterranean and it has shown itself fairly impervious to aerial attack. A combined land and air assault from nearby Spanish bases would be another story, but there is no way of organizing this without making Spain a full-fledged belligerent. There is, of course, no doubt about Franco's complete solidarity with the Axis or about his eagerness to share the loot. But Spain's reserves of food and other essentials are so low that it could not face more than a few weeks of blockade. This seems to rule out an early attack on Gibraltar and leaves the Axis with the problem of how to make Spain useful without exposing its weakness. A semi-official commentary from Rome after Suñer's first meeting with Mussolini declared that Spanish entry into the war was "not an issue." The same source was at pains to make clear that this was not the result of Spanish resistance to pressure. And that is probably true, for while Spain as a "non-belligerent" may be only a minor asset to the Axis, Spain as a military ally might prove a major liability.

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THE DAKAR EXPEDITION WAS UNDENIABLY a blunder, and its failure has injured the prestige of both Britain and the "Free French" cause. The situation has been made worse by the dilatory British publicity methods, which allowed Vichy to score a beat at each stage. Clearly General de Gaulle had been persuaded that his mere appearance off Dakar would suffice to bring the colony over to his side. But if his plans called only for a peaceful demonstration and withdrawal without bloodshed should this fail to achieve its objective, then it would have been better to have retired at once without replying to the shore batteries. For breaking off the action after a prolonged exchange of shells has given Vichy an opportunity to claim a victory and exalt its formerly diminishing prestige. In any case, Britain cannot afford to deal any more half-hearted and indecisive blows. The expedition against Dakar should not have been undertaken at all except with the means and determination to carry it through at all costs. There was every justification for that course, in view of the subservience of the Pétain government to the Axis, and success would probably have brought the whole French colonial empire into the war against fascism. As it is, the upshot of the expedition has been to check the growth of pro-British sentiment both in France and in its dependencies.

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WHEN MESSRS. RIBBENTROP, CIANO, AND Kurusu signed their agreement in Berlin last week it is improbable that they thought primarily of the political fortunes of Wendell Willkie. It would be unlike the Axis statesmen, however, to have ignored entirely the effects of their deal on the American Presidential campaign. Certainly the pact was designed to encourage appeasement sentiment in this country, and it is already clear that there are those who would gladly put the pact to work for Willkie. "Our policy," says Senator Nye, for example, "has succeeded in driving Japan into the arms of those who were the last ones we wanted her to associate with." Much blunter and with an almost disarming brazenness, Arthur Krock, dean of the New York *Times* Washington Bureau, suggests to the Republicans how "without seeming to condone Japan's barbarities and treaty breakings . . . the foreign crisis might be turned to their campaign advantage." Up to now, says Mr. Krock, the war threat has helped the Roosevelt campaign, "but if war with Japan were represented as the possible consequence of Mr. Hull's steady-admonitions to Tokyo, of the Chinese loans, and of the economic sanctions of embargo, it is improbable that very many Americans would have any heart in the enterprise." And just to make sure that the G. O. P. leaders get his drift he writes out an attack they might make upon Roosevelt. "From the time of the 'quarantine' speech in 1937," it starts out, "you have done everything possible to antagonize

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Japan and force it into the Axis. . . ." So far Mr. Willkie has dispensed with this eager bit of ghost-writing, but in view of his attack on Roosevelt for "selling Czechoslovakia down the river" our hopes that he will ignore the Krock advice are anything but high.

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IN HIS SECOND TERM THE PRESIDENT'S LIFE has not been a happy one; most of his patronage has been given out, and it takes more than eloquence to hold Congress in line. A third term will probably prove worse in this respect. Assuming the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt, the difficulties of Presidential leadership in the months ahead would have become even greater if Southern anti-New Dealers had succeeded in making one of their number majority leader of the House. The leader is elected, of course, by party caucus, and the strategy of this group was to postpone the election until the next Congress should convene in the hope that Republican victories would have thinned the ranks of Northern Democrats and left the Southerners securely in control. Fortunately their motion in caucus to postpone the voting was lost, though by the narrow margin of 108 to 91. Fortunate, too, was the election of John W. McCormack of Massachusetts as majority leader over Clifton A. Woodrum of Virginia. Woodrum is a Carter Glass Democrat who would rather see the jobless go hungry than unbalance the budget. McCormack, who is at least a mild liberal, is a great improvement over the Virginia tory. Not so encouraging is the peculiar alliance between the Southern reactionaries and Patrick J. Boland of Pennsylvania, the party whip in the House.

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THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY COULD HAVE found no better pre-election disinfectant than the resignation of Lawrence Wood "Chip" Robert, Jr., as secretary of its National Committee. Mr. Robert's departure came under bipartisan auspices. On August 28 Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee, a Democrat, inserted in the *Congressional Record* a list of naval contracts awarded without bidding, most of them on a cost-plus-fixed-fee basis. Mr. Robert's architectural and engineering firm was shown to have received $26,859,081 in naval contracts, on which it was to collect aggregate fees of $930,000. The next day Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, a Republican, demanded that Robert resign. He also asked that the Department of Justice investigate. Mr. Robert said he would welcome an investigation, and we hope he gets a chance to do so. Mr. Robert will remain in Washington doing business with the government, but he will also remain head of the Business Men's Committee for Roosevelt and Wallace, retaining this post by request of the new party chairman, Ed Flynn, who should know better. We suggest that the Democratic Party can get along entirely without Mr. Robert, though Mr. Robert may find it hard to get along without the Democratic Party.

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AT THE REQUEST OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE Advisory Committee, Attorney General Jackson has postponed action to require several of the major oil companies to divest themselves of their pipe-lines and other oil-transportation facilities. Mr. Jackson has, however, gone ahead with the suit against the American Petroleum Institute and twenty-two oil companies. While it is difficult to pass judgment on the technical matters which influenced the Defense Commission in its request that action on the pipe-lines be deferred, it can be set down as a general principle that business must not be allowed to utilize the defense program as a means of escaping prosecutions and penalties. On the other hand, as Mr. Jackson himself points out, many of the seemingly illegal restraints on trade which the oil companies have imposed are salutary in that they prevent waste of our declining oil reserves. But these "private conservation plans" have not been formulated in terms of public policy; nor are there adequate safeguards for the interests of the consumer. The requirements of national defense make it more essential than ever that Congress formulate a long-range conservation program for the oil industry which will protect the public interest.

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RATHER WIDE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE House and Senate in regard to the excess-profits tax bill have been compromised in conference in a way that leaves the measure considerably milder than the House version. Corporations are allowed to choose whether the tax shall be computed on "invested capital" or average earnings during the 1936-39 period, but if they take the second option they will only be permitted a credit of 95 per cent of the average. This is much less severe than the earlier proposal of a penalty tax of 4.1 per cent on all income of corporations adopting the average method. In addition to providing for an excess-profits tax on a steeply graduated scale with a maximum of 50 per cent on anything over $500,000, the bill increases normal income tax for corporations earning over $25,000 by 3.1 per cent, making a total of 24 per cent. On the other hand, it gives the defense industries the special five-year amortization for which they have been clamoring and cancels the Vinson-Trammell profit restrictions on ship and aircraft contracts.

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COPPER IS AMONG THE MOST VITAL RAW materials of defense, for it is essential to the manufacture of a host of products required by the services. It is not surprising, therefore, that the huge government

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arms orders placed recently should have led to extensive buying of copper. The pressure of a persistent demand has sent the price up to 12 cents a pound, and some trade quarters fear a runaway market despite the restraining hand of Washington. How far the situation can be remedied by an increase in domestic production is not clear. According to some authorities, only a further sharp rise in price, inducing the reopening of high-cost mines, would serve to swell supplies appreciably. But Congress could very easily provide another remedy by canceling or reducing the present import duty on copper of 4 cents per pound. This step has been urged by C. Donald Dallas, president of the Revere Copper and Brass Corporation, who has suggested a sliding-scale duty which would permit copper to come in free when the domestic price reached 12 cents while allowing the full 4 cents protection when the price fell below 9 cents. This seems such a moderate proposal that it ought not to be violently opposed by the copper interests, which, in any event, will make big profits out of the defense program. At the same time it would give much-needed aid to the South American copper-producing countries, which since the fall of France have been largely dependent on Japan for orders and are operating far below capacity. The result is that the quotation for export copper—smelted in bond in this country from imported ores—is more than 2 cents below the domestic price. This is very nice for Japan, but it is hardly to our advantage to help the Japanese obtain cheap shell cases.

*

FORTIFIED BY A $500,000,000 INCREASE IN capital the Export-Import Bank is beginning to make its contribution to hemispheric defense. In the past week a loan to the government of Costa Rica for $4,600,000 has been authorized. This is to be used for the construction of a section of the pan-American highway. Poor communications are one of the chief economic handicaps of the Central American republics. A preliminary agreement has also been reached with the government of Brazil for financing a large steel plant to be based on the almost untouched ore deposits of Minas Geraes. The bank is to make a loan of $20,000,000, and the government and certain Brazilian investors have undertaken to contribute $25,000,000 by way of equity capital. During the currency of the loan the bank will exercise some measure of control and will have a voice in the appointment of managers and technicians. It is to be hoped that this cooperative plan proves a success, for the foundation of a steel industry in Brazil should do much to bring the economy of that country into a better balance and to assist the living standards of its population. We are more doubtful about the smelting plant for which Señor Simon Patiño, the Bolivian tin king, is said to be seeking an RFC loan. At present Bolivian tin ore is smelted in England, and in the interests of national defense the erection of a smelter on this side of the Atlantic appears to be justified. But it is questionable whether encouragement should be given to a scheme which would further tighten the monopoly hold that Patiño exercises on the Bolivian tin industry and on Bolivia itself.

*

TO URUGUAY GOES THE CREDIT FOR BEING the first country in the world to defy Nazi wrath by conducting a state trial of Nazi agents. Eight Nazis have been indicted, charged with conspiring to transform Uruguay into an agricultural colony of the Third Reich, and their trial before the Uruguayan Supreme Court has already begun. The terms of the indictment make it clear that it is Hitler and the Nazi Party that are being tried, not merely eight subordinate agents. Three months ago the government failed to support the demand of the legislature and courts that the Nazi agents be brought to trial. But it has now not only handed down a powerful indictment against the Nazis but has issued a decree calling upon all citizens to cooperate with the authorities in hunting down persons and organizations connected with the Nazi plot. Although Uruguay's German population is smaller than that of several of the other South American states, the country's wealth and relatively small size make it especially vulnerable to Nazi machinations. If Uruguay succeeds in convicting and punishing the Nazi representatives, it will set a useful example to all the Americas.

*

THE LATEST ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE THE administration of the National Labor Relations Act is hidden in a rider to the Deficiency Appropriations bill providing that none of the funds appropriated for the NLRB "shall be obligated for carrying on any of the functions or duties assigned to the Division of Economic Research." This means not merely the elimination of the division headed by David Saposs; it means that no other division of the board will be allowed to perform the highly essential functions of the Division of Economic Research. These include the computation of back pay, the compilation of the annual report, the preparation of economic briefs, and the handling of various other economic and statistical data. Cases involving approximately $3,000,000 in back pay, awarded in court decisions and now in the computation stage, will be frozen if the rider is passed by the Senate—it was quietly passed in the House on September 23—and this amount is probably only a small fraction of that involved in some three thousand cases at present before the board or in process of litigation. A Presidential veto cannot be relied upon since it would involve a veto of the entire bill. Labor and liberal pressure must be exerted now to prevent passage of the rider in the Senate.

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WE ARE PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE winner in the essay contest for college students sponsored by the Educators' Committee for National Share-Croppers' Week and by *The Nation* is Mary Edward Mitchell, a student at Teachers College, Columbia University, and a resident of Tallapoosa, Georgia. Honorable mention goes to Ann Landau of Barnard College. The subject of the essays was "A Proposed Solution for the Share-Cropper Problem." On the whole the papers were well written and showed a knowledge and understanding of the problem and its ramifications. Most papers suggested large-scale cooperative farming and government reclamation and rehabilitation programs on an ever-increasing scale as the two most practical means of solution. All agreed that education must be an integral part of any program. Most of the contestants stressed the importance of establishing and protecting the civil rights of share-croppers, and advocated unionization as an effective method of self-help.

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America and the "New World Order"

THE Axis-Japan pact has been called everything from a bluff to the blueprint of a new totalitarian world order. In fact it is a typical Nazi maneuver, and so it combines some elements of both. Primarily, without doubt, it is a confession of weakness, an acknowledgment that the Battle of Britain is settling into stalemate. But Hitler has always used failure as a stepping-stone for new advances, and while it is legitimate to take satisfaction at the stubborn courage which has ended the hope of an autumn invasion of England, wise observers will not discount the importance of Hitler's grandiose substitute scheme. It is effectively designed to divide opinion in the United States, to create new anxiety in Australasia, to isolate still more completely the Soviet Union, and so to divert both attention and aid from Britain. Without adding one ounce of material strength to Japan, the pact will encourage Tokyo's fierce ambition to expand southward at the expense of powers no longer in a position to defend their possessions. And Japan's bid for empire will inevitably concentrate a large proportion of American power in the Pacific. So the threat is not all bluff.

If Japan is to be stopped, the United States will have to assume the chief responsibility for active intervention. Britain is no longer in a position to take the initiative in defending Western interests in Asia, much less in defending the interests of Asia itself. As for Russia, the most that can be hoped is that it will continue to send arms to China over the one route still open. Obviously, the Berlin pact carries an unspoken but clearly marked threat to the Soviet Union. The text of the accord advertised that its terms in no way affected relations between the three contracting powers and Russia, and this point was underlined in speeches by von Ribbentrop, Ciano, and Ambassador Kurusu. But it must not be forgotten that the signatories of this agreement once signed an anti-Comintern pact which they have never renounced. Moscow is said to have received advance information about the Berlin meeting, but it might well protest at being left out of a gathering called for the purpose of deciding the future overlordship of lands where Russia has many interests. There is now talk in Berlin of a visit by von Ribbentrop to Moscow to arrange for a Soviet slice of the loot. Having completed an agreement which leaves Russia isolated, it may seem good policy to offer a dole to Stalin, such as a free hand in Iran. It remains to be seen whether, in return, the U. S. S. R. will be required to abandon its aid to China. Should it refuse to do so, Germany is in a far better position to put on the screws than it is to deter the United States from pursuing policies displeasing to Japan. Yet for Russia to

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acquiesce in Japanese domination of China would be as contrary to its historic policy as would acquiescence in German control of the Dardanelles. Russia's exact role is still obscure. All that is certain is that it cannot hope to struggle free of German control until the whole direction of the war is reversed. If Britain is finally able to convert resistance into attack, and if the United States ultimately takes an active part in the struggle, Moscow may try to shake off its Nazi chains; it can't do so now.

Only the United States is strong enough to defy the aims so brazenly announced in the Axis-Japanese pact. Japan needs American goods if not American friendship. It is not prepared to fight the United States and will go to some lengths to avoid open conflict. The United States is equally unprepared to fight, but slowly and far too reluctantly the Administration has come to the point of using the powerful economic weapons it has so long held in reserve. The embargo on scrap iron, discussed on another page, is a small act of open resistance to Japan's aggression. The loan to China is another. Without any delay the Administration should answer the threat contained in the Berlin agreement by an all-round trade embargo which should be applied simultaneously by Britain and the Dominions. Negotiations for the use of Britain's Far Eastern naval bases should be speeded to a conclusion. The Burma road most certainly will be reopened; over it greatly increased supplies should be sent to the Chungking government. At the same time, aid to England should be increased not lessened.

The pact with Japan has been treated, of course, as a resounding diplomatic triumph, and no doubt it will be accepted as such by the bemused masses of Germany and Italy. But coldly analyzed, the agreement has several disadvantages from the point of view of the dictators. It means, for instance, resigning to Japan the Dutch East Indies, a rich prize which Germany itself probably hoped to inherit as conqueror of the Netherlands. Again, in order to be immediately effective, the pact must succeed in intimidating America, and to achieve this objective it has been necessary for the Axis to adopt an openly hostile attitude toward this country. But these tactics involve a large risk—the risk of making the determination of the totalitarian powers to dominate the whole world so crystal clear that Americans will become fully awake to the fact that their own interests are directly threatened. Thus the pact may well have results exactly opposite to those it set out to achieve. The decision to go ahead with it, despite that possibility, indicates the importance attached by the Axis powers to the role this country is likely to play in a long war. It is all very well for von Ribbentrop to boast of "the concentrated might of three nations with more than 250,000,000 inhabitants," but in terms of industrial power—and that is what will count if the war is to drag on—the combined strength of the United States and the British Empire far exceeds that of the totalitarians.

By Ribbentrop's announcement on Friday, the wars in Europe and Asia were merged and given unified control —Nazi control—and a common purpose. That purpose in its immediate aspect is the destruction of the British Empire, because the resistance of Britain forms the only present obstacle to world domination by the dictator powers. And British resistance is to be circumvented, since it cannot be reduced by frontal attack, through the encirclement of the United States.

If the pact succeeds, the ambitions of American isolationists will be magnificently fulfilled. The United States will cease to be a world power; it will be closed within its continental boundaries, and its interests and connections in other parts of the world will continue, if at all, only at the pleasure of Hitler. These facts, so obvious that they should not need restating, dictate American policy. If Britain falls, the United States will either have to resist alone or adapt itself to the rigors of coordination. The plans outlined by Dr. Schacht and printed in *The Nation* on September 7 indicate the role assigned to this country in Hitler's redistributed and reorganized world. We shall not be expected to carry on trade in the Pacific; that area is reserved for Japan and its Axis partners. We may continue to trade with Europe in the goods Europe needs, and we shall be allotted quotas for South America. This plan is as fanciful as, and no more so than, Hitler's hope of victory.

The simple truth is that we can't afford to allow Britain to be defeated. Neither the Dominions nor the countries of Latin America are prepared and organized for defense against fascist attack. The leadership and chief burden of such a struggle would fall upon the United States, and we could not carry it alone. Our own survival as a powerful people and the survival of free institutions hang on our willingness to give Britain whatever help is necessary to hold off Hitler and in the end to conquer him. The new totalitarian pact is useful if it only serves to dramatize the alternative to such a course. The time has come to abandon pretenses. Our neutrality has worn too thin to serve even as a disguise; it should be abandoned for a realistic policy of open assistance. We should not declare war; at this moment we are not prepared to fight. Instead we should insure ourselves time to prepare by removing all the impediments, legal and political, to the maximum material help we can safely give the British.

Senator King of Utah has introduced a bill making possible open financial assistance to Britain by suspending the credit prohibitions of the Johnson and Neutrality acts so far as Britain is concerned and providing for the

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scaling down of the British war debt. In addition, the bill would give the President authority to enter into negotiations for the purchase or lease of British island bases in or bordering on the Pacific. We hope Congress will act quickly and favorably on these proposals and thus make an effective reply to the blackmailing tactics of the Axis powers. It is of the utmost importance to encourage the British will to endure through the coming winter.

Japan's Choice

FOR Japan the conclusion of the tripartite alliance represents both a triumph and a setback. Its advantages are relatively obvious. The pact marks the end of one of the most unhappy periods in Japanese foreign policy. For thirteen months, or since the signing of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, Japan has been isolated, unable to choose between a revival of the ties of the anti-Comintern pact and its previous preference for the Western democracies. This isolation is now ended. Japan can count on Axis support in its invasion of Indo-China. Because of this support Vichy has already been forced to make far-reaching concessions to Japan. Further concessions will doubtless follow. Even if nothing else is gained, Japan has obtained control of some badly needed raw materials, and, what is more important, it has secured a base for further expansion to the South Seas. The foothold in Indo-China also provides Japan with an immense strategic advantage in its campaign against China.

But all of this has been gained at a heavy price. Perhaps even more than in the case of Germany, the pact is an indication of weakness rather than of strength. If war with the United States should result from the pact, Japan would have to bear its full brunt without hope, under present conditions, of substantial aid from Germany or Italy. In making the pact Japan sacrificed what up to now has been the keystone of its policy—non-involvement in Europe. It has held to this policy partly out of fear of winding up on the losing side, but more because Japanese business men have clung to the hope that by remaining on the sidelines, as in 1914-18, they might again reap the profits of war trade. A further and hitherto decisive factor has been Japan's fear of the economic consequences of open conflict with the United States.

Now that the die is cast, the ruling clique in Japan is not likely to be stopped by considerations that have, up to now, loomed as important. The American scrap-iron embargo, as Mr. Stone points out elsewhere in this issue, is in itself inconsequential. Nor can any embargo be effective as an immediate weapon. At best its force will not be felt for another six or nine months. Japan's stocks of most of the important commodities should last at least that long. It has staked much on the hope that the new alliance will have changed the world by that time. While it is always difficult to foresee the details of Japan's strategy, the general nature of its next steps are not hard to guess. The next few weeks will be spent in consolidating its hold on Indo-China. Whether the attack will be pressed further into China itself depends chiefly on the strength of the Chinese forces sent into Indo-China. The mopping up of the International Concession at Shanghai and the British concession at Tientsin, coupled possibly with an attack on Britain's stronghold at Hongkong, must be expected at any time. Whether Japan will then feel strong enough to hazard an attack on the Dutch East Indies depends very largely on the position of the American fleet and the arrangements that may be made for our navy to utilize the great Singapore naval base.

The extent to which Japan will be successful in carrying out its ambitions for a "new order" in East Asia with the aid of the European Axis powers will also depend on the continued strength of Chinese resistance. The new pact makes it clearer than ever that our frontiers, defensively speaking, are the upper Yangtze valley as well as the English Channel. One may hesitate to list China as a democracy, but the fact remains that it has been fighting democracy's battle with considerable success these past three years against a totalitarian aggressor. And it has several million trained men under arms prepared to maintain that defense indefinitely, given a modest amount of aid from the outside world. Support of China at this juncture is the cheapest form of self-defense. The United States must not make the same mistake with regard to China that Britain made in the case of Ethiopia, Spain, and Czechoslovakia.

In last week's issue of *The Nation* some of China's recent successes were cited as an indication of its growing strength. The army which Chiang Kai-shek has announced that he will throw into Indo-China is an exceptionally powerful one. It may be counted on to give the invader a great deal of trouble. By creating distractions for Japan, the new Axis agreement may work to China's advantage—provided its democratic allies give it the support they should. But as a prerequisite to any support the Burma road must be quickly reopened. The loan of $25,000,000 just announced by the Export-Import Bank is of invaluable aid, but it can be translated into sinews of war only if a way is opened to ship munitions into China.

China's relative strength presents what is perhaps the only hopeful aspect of an otherwise bleak situation. Japan is unquestionably the weakest link in the new totalitarian alliance. And it is the essence of good strategy, as the Axis powers have themselves repeatedly demonstrated, to strike at the enemy's weakest link.

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Mr. Hull and the Pact

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 30

NOWHERE in Washington was the news of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo pact greeted with so elaborate a lack of surprise as in the State Department. "We knew it all the time" was the refrain of the statement the Secretary of State gave the press, a statement which managed to achieve prolixity though but three sentences long. Mr. Hull began by saying that the alliance did not "substantially alter a situation which has existed for several years." He went on to declare that it "merely makes clear a situation which has long existed in effect and to which this government has repeatedly called attention." That such an agreement "has been in process of conclusion," Mr. Hull assured the correspondents, "has been well known for some time, and that fact has been fully taken into account by the government of the United States in the determining of this country's policies." It is impossible to take these words at their face value without passing a harsh verdict on our diplomats. For if the announcement of the pact does not alter a situation which has existed for several years and if that situation was "fully taken into account" by our government, why did the State Department so long refuse to embargo war materials which armed one of the principal participants in the most dangerous alliance that has ever confronted this country?

It is more charitable to assume that Secretary Hull's statement was a bold front on a diplomatic defeat. For the dominant faction in the State Department has hoped to appease Japan and keep it from joining the Axis, and this group continued to act on the basis of that hope long after it had been abandoned everywhere but in the British Foreign Office. Secretary Hull, like Secretary Stimson before him, provided an accompaniment of lofty moral discourses for the Japanese advance down the China coast. The discourses made veiled use of that most foolhardy of weapons, threats which the other side knew were hollow. Within the department, over the objections of a more farsighted minority, the experts made a joke of the discourses by protecting the profits accruing to American business from the aggressions we were so nobly denouncing. It was not until July of 1939, after almost eight years of Sino-Japanese warfare, that the State Department finally gave notice of intention to abrogate our commercial treaty with Japan, a necessary step if an embargo was to be imposed with full legal decorum.

The six months' notice that was stipulated in the treaty expired in January of this year, but it was not until July that an "embargo" on oil and scrap was announced. I have been told that the White House originally intended this embargo to be an actual embargo on oil and scrap, but that the details were left to the State Department experts. When the regulations were promulgated it was found that the only scrap "embargoed" was No. 1 heavy melting, that the only petroleum "embargoed" was aviation gas, and that the "embargo" itself was only a system of licensing. It is now revealed that few if any licenses were denied under these regulations. Now, when an embargo is finally to be placed on all the seventy-five varieties of iron and steel scrap instead of on just one, the Japanese are given almost three weeks' notice, and will therefore be able to add another 100,000 to 200,000 tons of scrap to the 9,000,000 tons we have so generously supplied to them in the last six years.

Secretary of State Hull

When Mr. Hull appeared before a Congressional committee on trade agreements a year ago, a Republican member, exasperated by the Secretary's ability to say little at great length, asked him whether he ever answered a question with a yes or no. The State Department, despite the events of the past week, has yet to give a final yes or no to Japan. The momentum of events may itself supply the answer. The $25,000,000 loan to China, the help now vaguely promised French Indo-China, and the embargo on iron and steel scrap are the result of a number of factors: a new confidence that Britain will be able to hold out, Anglo-Australian desire for our protection in the Far East, advance knowledge that the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo pact would be signed in a few days, and the belated "discovery" that national-defense needs require an embargo on scrap.

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This discovery itself has a rather interesting background. The Japanese, with about a year's supply on hand, do not need our scrap as much as they did, and the scrap industry, with a defense boom in the offing, does not need Japanese orders. The big steel companies cannot oppose an embargo on scrap by claiming that we have an over-supply of steel and at the same time ask for a higher price for steel on the ground of a shortage. The embargo implies and advertises a shortage, and the shortage may provide a basis for asking higher prices. Both big steel and the scrap industry have accepted the embargo with a curious equanimity. This may be the result of a new sense of patriotism or it may be something else. The test of steel will come on proposals to embargo pig iron and semi-finished steel; Japan took 126,000 tons of pig and semi-finished during the first seven months of this year. The test of the State Department will come on proposals to embargo oil, copper, and other raw materials that are as necessary to the Japanese war machine as steel; particularly oil, a commodity for which the department has shown a tender concern in the past.

Other questions are raised by the crucial developments of the past few days. Will we end our pinch-penny policy on loans for China? Will we insist that Canada stop selling scrap to Japan and that British Malaya stop supplying it with pig iron? Have we obtained assurances that the Burma road will be reopened on October 8? What commitments are we making and what concessions are we getting in the Far East? Are we going to use Singapore for a naval base? What steps are we taking toward a rapprochement with Russia, our natural counterpoise to Japan? Are we going to make the same mistakes with respect to Russia that the British made in 1939?

At the moment the chances that Moscow will do anything to displease Berlin seem slimmer than ever. The possibility that our State Department could or would move swiftly enough to outmaneuver the Nazi Foreign Office is even more remote.

Words by Willkie

BY BARBARA WERTHEIM

WENDELL L. WILLKIE has never held public office, and his political philosophy, therefore, must be judged by what he has said rather than by what he has done. This article attempts to deduce it from his published words—words spoken or written since 1933, the year he became president of Commonwealth and Southern and the year Mr. Roosevelt became President of the United States.

Running through all Willkie's speeches and articles is one fundamental principle: government should let business alone. On this score Willkie resembles no President so much as Coolidge, and if elected he may be expected to apply himself as devotedly as Coolidge to what he calls "setting our enterprises free." Twelve of the most eventful and tragic years of modern history have passed since the end of the Coolidge era, but Willkie gives no sign of being aware that they have left an ineradicable mark on the pattern of our society. He would be "very much surprised," he told the students at Indiana University, if their "outlook on the world" differed much from his at the time he was a student.[1] He still seems to see ahead the golden glow and opportunity of the '20's. Lift the heavy hand of government, chase the "business haters" from the capital, and government will then cooperate with business, capital will lie down with labor, a healing "unity" will settle over the nation, and recovery will be ours.

"Those who now enjoy the benefits of free enterprise," runs Mr. Willkie's credo, "should value it above everything else, even above security, above any of those new concepts that have been offered to us in its place."[2] Private enterprise again made free, he says, will solve unemployment, augment social reform, restore true "liberalism," build national defense, and provide a guiding principle to a sound and consistent foreign policy. A reason for his belief in these miraculous powers of free private enterprise has been suggested by a man who has had opportunity to know him well: "Willkie worships business because business recognized his merits." It was not the bench or the bar but business that gave Willkie his big chance. Every magazine article on Willkie's career tells how B. C. Cobb, a former president of Commonwealth and Southern, after seeing Willkie handle a case for a subsidiary company, said, "Don't let that young man get away from us," and how Cobb later brought Willkie to New York as counsel for C. and S. and chose him as his successor when he retired. It was business too which gave Willkie his early support for the Republican nomination. On April 4 the *Wall Street Journal* remarked on Willkie's "extraordinary following in the industrial and financial community," and on June 17 the New York *Times* noticed that "strong support among business interests has developed for Mr. Willkie. These business men have been exerting considerable pressure on

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the delegates to the convention to vote for Mr. Willkie."

It is no accident that no business man has ever been elected President of the United States. A business man thinks in terms of profits for himself and his particular group, while a man engaged in a public career must think and deal in terms of all the people rather than a narrow sector of them. Willkie himself recognized this when he said, "Although I am president of a large utility company, I regard myself as a loyal American citizen vitally interested in the welfare of my country."[3]

THE NEW DEAL VERSUS BUSINESS

Willkie starts with the idea that the trouble with the New Deal is that its leaders are "motivated not by love but by hate"[4]—hate of those men who have "most dramatically represented the spirit of individual initiative and free enterprise, namely, business men."[5] To him the New Deal is a vast program for personal vengeance. At its head are men whose "hatred for business and business men surpassed the bounds of reason and good judgment."[6] Its guiding principle is "to 'soak business' deliberately and maliciously."[6] "Abandon this attitude of hate," he cries, and "set our enterprises free."[6] Before his nomination he recognized no need for government regulation, nor did he give the New Deal credit for trying to accomplish something positive. Interpreting its legislation as pure vindictiveness, he said, for example, that the Public Utility Act caused the American people to pay an "incalculable" price merely in order that "the politicians could thus enjoy and exercise their hatreds."[7] And he called the TVA "attack" on the utilities "one of the most cruel, one of the most brutal, one of the most unfair, and one of the most un-American doctrines ever advocated by anyone anywhere."[8]

After building up this picture of a splenetic and malicious government, Willkie winningly pleads for an end to the quarrel. "In such a time as this, surely business and government should put an end to the bitterness of recent years and sit down in conference like reasonable men with mutual tolerance and respect."[9] But he concludes, "It remains for the government to create that harmony which is so necessary if we would emerge from the spell of darkness that now envelops us."[3] In other words, the government must give in.

Another of Mr. Willkie's favorite themes is that "today it is not big business that we have to fear. It is big government. The abuses that corrupted the 1920's have been transferred from Wall Street to Washington."[4] The purpose of the New Deal, he warns, is "not to eliminate monopolistic control, *but merely to change its ownership*"[4] (italics his). He returns to this accusation again and again. "In the pre-war years we fought against the domination of the people by big business. We now face the domination of the people by big government."[1] Although noticing that this phenomenon represents "a trend which is apparent throughout the world,"[1] he never stops to examine its causes but ascribes it simply to "the government's desire for power."[4] He sees the issue as a personal quarrel because he has no view of its wider import. "The difficulty of getting along with business," said Attorney General Jackson in his debate with Mr. Willkie, "is not so much that it has a bad philosophy of the functions of government as that it has no philosophy as to the broader functions of itself."[9]

Among the acts of "big government" which Willkie most resents is the Public Utility Act's "death sentence" for geographically overextended holding companies like C. and S. "No tribunal," he once said, "has ever determined that there was any discrepancy between the property value of the utility companies of this country and their outstanding securities."[10] Yet it is a fact that C. and S. itself was induced to cut its capitalization to $354,000,000, a reduction of 61 per cent, after an investigation by the FTC in 1931, and that later the FTC still found three C. and S. subsidiaries overcapitalized to the extent of $124,000,000. As Mr. Jackson put the issue, "How can a single state regulate Mr. Willkie?" Never mind that, says Willkie: "Give us back the powers that our forefathers declared to be ours; liberate us to govern ourselves by *law*."[6]

What Willkie wants is a "businesslike administration that will act as the steward of our prosperity, that will insure the social progress that is now threatened, and that will manage our affairs at least as intelligently as we manage our own enterprises."[6] That, according to Willkie himself, is not very intelligently, for, as he points out on various occasions—whenever he is trying to make a case for revision of the capital-gains tax to allow deductions for losses—"only one-third of the established businesses are successful."[11] Such a record for business hardly recommends it for running the government. Willkie insists that a "businesslike approach" would, on the one hand, "restore business confidence and get our wheels moving again. On the other, it would speed up social progress and reform."[6] How it is going to do both when any step toward social progress and reform causes business men to "lose confidence" is left unexplained.

WILLKIE'S BUSINESS RECORD

Since Willkie is the particular business man who aspires to run the government, let us examine his accomplishments in his own field in the light of his complaints. The one for which he is most lauded is the doubling of C. and S. earnings in the first four years of his presidency and the steady increase in net earnings each year up to 1938. Even the Tennessee Electric Power Company, the C. and S. subsidiary which came into direct conflict with the TVA, in 1937 increased its net earnings 13 per cent over 1936 and 34 per cent over 1934. This is a record of which the head of any corporation

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might be proud and even boastful. Yet in the period in which Mr. Willkie was so increasing C. and S. earnings he was loudly bewailing the "ruin" that the government was bringing on his companies. In January, 1938, he said that his demand that the government buy the Tepco properties intact was made to escape a "desperate" situation. At one time he complained that the TVA would double the amount of electric energy available in the Valley, "where there is already an excess of 66 per cent."[10] Yet he later revealed that the utilities needed "several hundred million dollars' worth of new construction."[3] One must conclude either that C. and S. was increasing its market and its earnings in spite of its president or that he was less than sincere in his public lamentations.

Wendell Willkie

Actually it was no coincidence that Tepco grew richer in the period that saw the birth and development of TVA. The high-powered campaign to sell more and more electric appliances and the "objective rate" which Willkie has been so praised for introducing were both measures taken over from TVA because of the necessity of meeting TVA's lower rates and increased services. Even the "objective rate" praised by Willkie publicists as an "extraordinarily bold" step was no more than a reluctant edging toward the plunge into reduced rates which TVA had already made ahead of him. If Willkie's companies earned more money as a result, he had TVA to thank. In a left-handed way he acknowledges this. "Utility men, when they are sure no one will overhear them, will occasionally admit that the punitive legislation of the government has spurred them to renewed efforts to lower their rates and put their houses in order."[12]

PAST REMARKS AND PRESENT PROMISES

Fundamental in the Republican nominee's program for national rehabilitation is the achievement of "unity." Next to free enterprise, unity is his favorite word. At Philadelphia he said, "Forty-eight days ago I started out to preach to the American people the doctrine of unity and the doctrine of the destiny of America, and the fact that I am the nominee of this convention shows how appealing those simple doctrines are to the American people."[13] Further elucidating the doctrine of unity, Willkie said, "I dedicate myself to a united people without class consciousness, class distinction, or class hatred."[14] "It is my belief that there is no hate in the hearts of any group of Americans for any other American group—except as the New Deal seeks to put it there for political purposes. I stand for a new companionship in industrial society."[15] Business men and Republicans always deplore class consciousness, but it is the Weirs and Girdlers who wear Willkie buttons. Willkie blames the New Deal rather than Chicago's Memorial Day massacre for class hatred.

From time to time he has made more specific statements about his program. On wage-and-hour legislation he said in his acceptance speech that he favored "the maintenance of minimum standards for wages and of maximum standards for hours. I believe that such standards should constantly improve." On social security the acceptance speech favored "federal pensions," "adequate old-age benefits," and "unemployment allowances." But earlier Willkie had denounced both the Social Security Act and the Wage and Hour Act as measures that taxed pay rolls and caused men to be thrown out of work.[16] On government regulation of business he said in the acceptance speech, "I believe that the forces of free enterprise must be regulated. . . . I believe in the federal regulation of interstate utilities, of securities markets, and of banking." But each of these three forms of regulation he had earlier firmly opposed. Releasing "the forces of private enterprise" has been emphasized in almost every Willkie speech as the first step to recovery. As for the regulation of utilities, he once said, "No duty has ever come to me in private life which has so appealed to my sense of social obligation, patriotism, and love of mankind as this, my obligation to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities privately owned."[10] And the report that in a recent speech he "assailed the power vested in various government commissions with special reference to the SEC"[18] hardly indicates enthusiasm for the regulation of securities and banking.

Summing it up, Willkie fixes the four cardinal sins of the New Deal as (1) government spending, (2) wage fixing and pay-roll taxing, (3) personal and corporate taxes, (4) interference with industry by regulatory commissions.[16] In short, it appears that the Republican candidate would provide relief, or at least "unemployment allowances," but without, or with greatly reduced, government spending. He would set wage and hour standards and provide federal pensions but without wage fixing or pay-roll taxing. He would regulate free enterprise but without interference with industry by regulatory commissions. At least one must admire his courage.

THE CANDIDATE AS A LIBERAL

About 1938 Willkie discovered he was a liberal. In articles and speeches which he now produced with increasing frequency, the utilities magnate faded, the liberal emerged. Not entirely confident that he would be recognized as one, he was at pains to pin a tag on him-

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self. "Now I don't want you to think I am a cut-and-dried conservative," he once said pointedly to an interviewer; "by nature and upbringing I am a liberal."[3]

On occasions he has taken a stand, such as his uncompromising castigation of the Dies committee procedure,[19] consistent with his new role, but on the whole the liberal coat fits him badly. A liberal, in Willkie's view, is one who sets himself to "increase freedom"[16] or to "make men free."[5] "Seven years ago," he says, "the people of the United States set out upon what they thought was a great liberal campaign. . . . Somewhere along the road we lost that objective. Instead of seeking to make men free—free to fight their own battle against poverty and fear and adversity under conditions that provided a fair chance to win—we decided to let the government fight the battle." Whereupon the government "wore the colors of the people's champion, but its conceptions of its functions became authoritarian. . . . It tried to take over the functions of America's free economic enterprises."[18] He grants, it is true, that it is the purpose of liberalism "to prevent such limitations upon freedom as insecurity, poverty, or weakness may impose," but he negates his own words when he concludes, "In other words the liberal is one who prefers to be poor if necessary but in any case to be free."[5] What his freedom comes down to is freedom for the victims of poverty, fear, and adversity to "fight their own battle" and cessation of government interference with "free economic enterprises."

FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Allies, Willkie said last May, "believe in the free-enterprise system under democracy. That is what we believe. Whatever we can do to aid that faith without jeopardizing peace for our own land, that we should be willing to do."[20] Thus the preservation of free enterprise becomes the focus of his foreign policy too. Last spring Willkie pulled no punches on this subject. "We must do everything short of war which would strengthen the forces of France, England, Holland, and Belgium,"[21] he said. "If the totalitarian states prevail, the odds are very substantial we shall have to meet them in armed conflict."[22] We must hate Hitler and also fear him, he warned, and added, "I am not being an alarmist. I am stating a fact."[23] These are forthright pronouncements but they hardly give him the right to accuse the President, as he later did, of "dabbling in inflammatory statements and manufactured panics."[15] But by August, when Willkie was calling the President a warmonger, his own foreign policy had subsided into meaningless fustian. In the acceptance speech he defined it as a determination to "do everything to defend American democracy and to refrain from doing anything that would injure it"; he exhorted us, if we wished to "outdistance" the dictators, to "rise to a new life of adventure and discovery," to "make a wider horizon for the human race"; and he promised to "beat Hitler in our own American way." Since then Willkie's views have undergone further gyrations, and the President, once a warmonger—"he has courted a war"—now appears as an appeaser.

One of Willkie's chief objections to Roosevelt's foreign policy is what he calls its "secrecy." For this he would substitute open diplomacy, so open, indeed, as to seem foolhardy. Before the defection of France he suggested that Secretary Hull publicly ask the Allies in the name of the American people exactly what help they needed that we could give them short of an expeditionary force. "If the Allies respond with a request, we can debate that request on its merits. We can debate it non-partisanly and non-politically as a unified people. *Even if we find that we cannot grant it, our public debate will have helped Allied morale, will have helped a little to check Hitler*"[23] (italics mine). How could a public request for help, followed by a public debate, followed by a public refusal, possibly do anything but gravely depress the British and cause Dr. Goebbels to exult over every radio in the Reich?

In discussing national defense Willkie again recommends private enterprise. Three days after the fall of Paris he spoke at a ceremony dedicating a new C. and S. power plant to John C. Weadock, senior counsel of C. and S. To keep the European tragedy from befalling us, he said, we must do three things: "We must continue to make it possible for Americans to do what such a man as John C. Weadock has done. We must continue the operation of our system of free enterprise. We must maintain and add to the spirit of unity of the American people."[24] Here is the whole defense duty of the government as seen by the Republican candidate. Nothing is said about what is to be done with "free enterprise" that finds national defense unattractive except at a price of its own fixing.

"The main thing required," he said elsewhere, in discussing the need to get capital flowing for the manufacture of defense weapons, "is a changed attitude toward business. To preserve this democracy it might be necessary to lengthen the hours of labor, but this should not be done until it is demonstrated to be absolutely essential."[25]

Willkie's attack on the Russell-Overton proposal for government control of uncooperative concerns in a war emergency was bad politics, but it was the only possible reaction to expect from a man of his general views. As long ago as last November Willkie charged that the state of national emergency was being seized upon for "further regimentation and destruction" of free private enterprise."[19] And in December he "insisted that the American people should place their reliance chiefly upon free enterprise and individual initiative."[18] Leaving out those occasional eruptions which so disturb his fellow-

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travelers but are probably unavoidable in an amateur, there is nothing basically inconsistent in the Republican candidate's political philosophy. It reduces itself to one principle: free private enterprise will fix everything.

1 Foundation Day Address, University of Indiana, 5/4/38.
2 Indiana State Day Address at World's Fair, 6/1/39.
3 Interview, New York *Times Sunday Magazine*, 2/2/38.
4 Address to Toledo Civic Forum and Rotary Club, 3/4/40.
5 "With Malice Toward None," *Saturday Evening Post*, 12/30/39.
6 "We, the People," *Fortune*, April, 1940.
7 Address over WABC, 4/15/40.
8 Testimony before Congressional Investigating Committee, 11/23/38.
9 Debate, Town Meeting of the Air, 1/6/38.
10 Address to Economic Club and Harvard Business School Club, New York, 1/21/35.
11 "Idle Money—Idle Men," *Saturday Evening Post*, 6/17/39.
12 "Political Power," *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1937.
13 Philadelphia Acceptance speech, 6/28/40.
14 Speech at Denver, 7/12/40.
15 Elwood Acceptance speech, 8/17/40.
16 "Brace Up, America!" *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1939.
17 Address to Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, 3/15/40.
18 Address to Congress of American Industry, New York, 12/8/39.
19 Address to Columbia Alumni at Bankers' Club, New York, 11/1/39.
20 Address to Republican leaders at St. Paul, 5/11/40.
21 Address to Indiana Bankers' Association, Indianapolis, 5/15/40.
22 Press Interview, Nana, New York *Times*, 5/5/40.
23 Address to American Legion, Akron, 5/29/40.
24 Address at Consumer Power dedication, Bay City, Michigan, 6/20/40.
25 Press Interview in Washington, New York *Times*, 6/13/40.

The Moscow Line in Britain

BY PATRICIA STRAUSS

VICTOR GOLLANCZ, the well-known publisher, founder of the Left Book Club, which grew into a force of political importance, went recently to one of the club branches. The dozen or so people there were engaged in heated argument. The Communists asserted that the British ruling class was a worse enemy of the workers than was Hitler, and that England was only a sham capitalist democracy not worth fighting for. At last they turned, rather suspiciously, to a blond young man who had been silent throughout the evening and asked his views. Without replying, he stood up, took off his coat, pulled his shirt over his head, and turned his back to them. It was scarred for life with revolting weals. Then he said quietly, "That is the difference between your 'sham capitalist democracy' and Hitler's Germany." But the core of the Communist Party continues to work for appeasement with Germany.

The transference of the fifty American destroyers, hailed in England with deep thankfulness, was roundly condemned by the Communist Party on the ground that the destroyers were old and unsafe for British sailors. In the air-raid shelters in London, Communist organizers are busy trying to persuade the occupants that this is an imperialist war in which they have no part or interest except as they are subject to the risk of death or injury. If civilian morale breaks, the Communist Party's responsibility will be limited only by the extent of its influence.

Most of the prominent Communist Party leaders have followed the new line introduced in the middle of September, 1939. Claud Cockburn, editor of the *Week*, Professor J. B. S. Haldane, the famous scientist, and Harry Pollitt, former secretary of the Communist Party, who had to recant his advocacy of the earlier party line and was demoted, are agreed that the British government is a greater menace to liberty and decency than is Hitler. Since the fall of France, however, when it became obvious that the ruling class could not be depended upon to protect the Communists from the logic of their position, individual Communists are to be found, rather shamefacedly, doing their bit. Working-class members are leaving the Communist Party, puzzled and suspicious. Their attitude is that of the truck driver who said at a local meeting, "I did what I could to help the fight against Hitler in Spain, and I'm not afraid to fight him now it's my country's turn."

The split in the left is most marked in by-elections. In these the Communists have put up anti-war candidates for seats which would otherwise go unopposed to the Labor Party. Last June I myself was in the uncomfortable position of working in the Bow and Bromley by-election, the late George Lansbury's seat, against Isabel Brown, Communist candidate, with whom I had spoken at many crowded meetings for Loyalist Spain. Bands of election workers canvassing in the shabby streets would suddenly meet old friends working for the other side. They would greet one another with scowls and taunts. The Communists would shout, "Look where the Labor Party is now, working with Chamberlain!" And the Labor workers would yell back, "Our party is in the government, helping to defeat Hitler. Your lot have become appeasers and fascists!"

It is significant that after months of weary and undramatic war the Communist vote was only a few hundred in any by-election—this although they put up their best-known people in working-class districts where the voters had had the misery of conscription, blackout, rising cost of living, and evacuation of their children, without the emotional conviction, which they now have, that this is their war. So many people who worked together for Loyalist Spain and the Popular Front are now bitter enemies! The cause is the stop-the-war tactics of the Communist Party. The effect is a rearrangement of the political pattern, with the Communists appearing as appeasers. The price is the loss of many of their supporters and members, both working-class and intellectual.

John Strachey, famous Communist author and lec-

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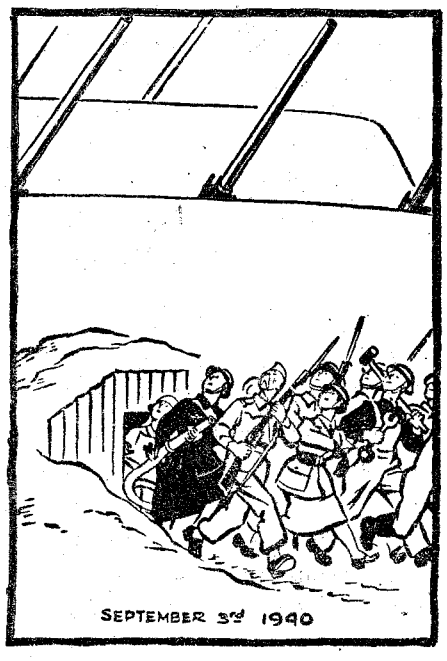
turer, felt at the beginning of the war that an attempt should be made to avoid the imminent bloodshed, but he could not take a stand for "peace at any price." And after the invasion of Finland and the attack on Norway he realized that Hitler must be stopped by force. He is now in the Home Guard, as is G. R. Strauss, M. P., ardent supporter of Loyalist Spain, and practically every other able-bodied man not called for military service.

The left wing of the Labor Party, through its weekly paper, the *Tribune,* continues strongly anti-Nazi. The editorial board of the *Tribune*—Aneurin Bevan, G. R. Strauss, Victor Gollancz, Harold J. Laski, and Raymond Postgate—meets in an air-raid shelter and produces a vigorous call to the government to make this a real people's war. The *Daily Worker* calls on the government to stop the war at once. It does not attack Hitler; it denounces Churchill and the government for opposing Hitler. It also rails against the *Tribune,* although two members of the editorial board, Aneurin Bevan and G. R. Strauss, were expelled from the Labor Party with Sir Stafford Cripps for advocating a Popular Front with the Communist Party.

Tom Wintringham, of the International Brigade, who was expelled from the Communist Party, is fighting Hitler as actively in England as he did in Spain. At a school on an estate near London he is teaching the Home Guard how the Spanish people repelled the advance of mechanized troops with improvised weapons. As assistants he has several officers of the Loyalist Spanish army. He has written a brilliant series of articles for *Picture Post,* an illustrated weekly with an enormous circulation, which have been studied with care by hundreds of thousands of Home Guards all over England. These men, whose job is to defend their own streets and villages, are learning more from Wintringham than from their official training. By his insistence that this is a people's war he is largely responsible for the democratic cooperation in the Home Guard today. If Hitler invades England he will meet the spirit of Wintringham and the International Brigade in every town and village.

In the same school for Home Guards is Hugh Slater, who did such good work in Spain as a Communist journalist. William Forrest, well-known correspondent of the *Daily Express* and *News-Chronicle,* an ardent pro-Loyalist in the Spanish war who has been very close to the Communist Party for some years, has also remained strongly anti-Hitler. So has Philip Toynbee, son of Professor Arnold Toynbee, the historian. Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman,* who approved the return of the Sudetenland to Germany in the hope it would preserve the peace of Europe and is deeply and passionately averse to force, is convinced the defeat of Hitler is the only hope of a civilized future. Fred Copeman, a wealthy young man who contributed generously to the Loyalist cause in Spain, fought in the International Brigade, and then became one of the most effective speakers for Spain, is lecturing to A. R. P. wardens, teaching them the realities of their work from his own experience in Spain. In the nightly raids over London thousands of wardens must be muttering prayers of thankfulness to Copeman for his practical instruction. These men, so lately heroes for their work in Spain, are now scorned by the Communists as traitors to the working class. The *Daily Worker's* most scathing attacks are for the friends who worked against appeasement and for Spain but who have not followed the stop-the-war line.

One of the casualties of the split on the left is the pacifist movement, which was so strong in the last war. There is no room for it in this war; the Communist Party has taken its place. The traditionally pacifist Independent Labor Party, largely Scottish, is also split. Jennie Lee, one of the leaders and a former Member of Parliament, has an important post in the Ministry of Aircraft Production. Those who are genuine pacifists find themselves in a distinctly awkward position, lined up with but overshadowed by the Communists and Fascists, whose slogans are inevitably alike. When a Fascist chalks on the walls "Mosley for peace," some wag comes along, crosses out Mosley's name, and scrawls "The C. P.," over it.



From the beginning active Labor Party

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members, deeply anti-Nazi, have cooperated in A. R. P. and all measures of civilian defense. Since Herbert Morrison, Ernest Bevin, and Ellen Wilkinson, proved bedrock, working-class members of the Labor Party, entered the government, the ordinary workingman feels represented and responsible, and has met all demands magnificently. When Ernest Bevin, secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, now Minister of Labor, calls on the workers to increase production, even if it means longer hours in the factory, they not only obey, they approve. But when the Communists tell the factory worker that Ernest Bevin is more surely an enemy of the working class than Göring, he just shakes his head and taps his forehead significantly. It is prophesied in England that the next Prime Minister will be either Herbert Morrison or Ernest Bevin. Each has the trust and loyalty of the workers; each has the curses of the Communist Party.

Did Surrender Save Denmark?

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

Uppsala, Sweden, September 4

OF ALL the countries that have been crushed under the Nazi juggernaut since April 9, Denmark alone surrendered without a fight. True, in the first hours of the invasion a few sporadic attempts at armed resistance were made, but on the whole the occupation of Denmark was the least bloody of Hitler's conquests.

Even today the Danes, and with them many foreign sympathizers, pride themselves upon the wisdom of the decision which opened the roads and harbors of their kingdom to the invader. Look at the ruins of Brussels and Rotterdam, they say; look at the boundless misery of France, look at hapless Norway, first ravaged by war, then sacrificed by the Allies, now ground down. Aren't we better off?

Let us see how the Danes have profited from an act which threw open the flood-gates of disaster—which made possible the rapid conquest of Norway and thereby turned the tide against the Allies. Of course the Germans are behaving very differently toward the "kindred" nations—Denmark, Norway, Holland—from the way they treated conquered Poland or are treating France. Thus far no horror tales have come out of Denmark. The army of occupation is behaving with restraint and discipline. It does not interfere, as a rule, with the internal administration of the country. The same old Social Democrat who has governed the country since April, 1929, Thorvald Stauning, is still Prime Minister, and his party is still on top, although a coalition Cabinet of all major parties has superseded the two-party regime of the past eleven years. The trade unions have not been interfered with, and little if any encouragement has been given to local Nazi groups by the German military authorities. When the Danish police on July 2 arrested a hundred Nazis who had staged a riotous demonstration, the Germans did not interfere. Whether this moderation of the German masters in Denmark will be lasting or is only a momentary show remains to be seen.

Bad blood has been caused already by the behavior of the German soldiers toward the Danish girls and women. All reports from Denmark agree that the German garrisons are made up of crack troops—good-looking young fellows who pay court to the local belles and have considerable success with them. As a result some girls have been mobbed by their fellow-citizens and had their hair clipped off or been daubed with tar. The military authorities, who in general seem anxious to cultivate the good-will of the population, have not only done nothing to prevent these scandals but have administered rebuffs and warnings to the newspapers and individuals who upbraided the women for their association with German soldiers.

The invaders have gained a fair measure of popularity with both boys and girls of school age—the public schools in Denmark have been for a long time strongly infected with Nazi ideas—and with certain sections of the peasantry, which for some years has shown Nazi leanings. In contrast, they have been coolly received by the workers, a large majority of whom are organized in the Social Democratic trade unions. And the Danish bourgeoisie, which has always looked to France and Britain much more than to Germany, seems to be doing a very thorough job of cold-shouldering the Nazis, especially in Copenhagen. There is little defiance or open hostility, but the attitude of the middle class is definitely frigid. Almost everybody in Copenhagen used to speak at least a little German, but now German officers and soldiers usually get only a blank stare and a shrug of the shoulders when they inquire their way or try to engage in conversation. On the streets of Copenhagen the German military attract little interest; the crowd simply "looks through them," as a friend of mine put it, as if they were thin air. A story is told of a Nazi captain

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in Copenhagen who complained: "In Czechoslovakia the people spat at me, in Poland they sniped at me, but all this was nothing compared with Denmark, where I am simply frozen out."

The Danes are decidedly annoyed by the reckless way in which the Nazi soldiery clean out the shops. A marked shortage of many commodities already exists, and while the Nazis buy unrestrainedly, the Danes are punished for hoarding. The German soldier's pay of about six marks a day, twelve kroner at the compulsory exchange rate, allows him to spend rather freely. It is interesting to note that the first things the Germans bought in every shop throughout the country were British-made fabrics and clothes. They wanted no "made-in-Germany" stuff but were willing to pay high for every scrap of cloth imported from Britain. They are also eager to buy and send home shirts, socks, women's underwear, and silk stockings.

The ravenous hunger of the German soldiery for Danish butter is almost subject for an epic. In the first days of the occupation you could often see big, serious-looking fellows in uniform standing outside dairy shops and licking up half a pound of butter, without bread, like ice cream, with the ecstasy of a small boy sucking a lollipop! Every member of the occupation army has the right to send home half a pound of butter a day, and hardly anyone fails to make use of this privilege to the full. This drain on supplies, combined with the wholesale buying of butter for export to Germany, has cleaned out the country, once Europe's leading producer of butter, and in consequence severe rationing has been decided upon, to come into effect after October 1. It is expected that the allowance will not exceed 250 grams per person, per week, which is about a quarter of the normal Danish consumption. Sugar also will be rationed, though Denmark has always been more than self-sufficient in the past and had a bumper crop last year. Stocks of coffee and tea are already nearly exhausted, with no hope whatever of replenishing them. Even bread and flour will be rationed in Denmark after October 1.

I have not the space here to discuss the way the whole economic system of Denmark has been thrown hopelessly out of gear by the invasion. Great Britain used to absorb more than half of Denmark's total exports and to supply well over one-third of its import requirements. Now of course the British market is gone completely. Germany is eager to take as much as it can of the butter, bacon, and eggs that formerly went to Britain, but it cannot possibly supply all the essentials—coal, steel, feed, and fertilizers—which Denmark used to get from Britain, and without which both Danish industry and agriculture will be starved. The huge disproportion in Danish-German trade that has arisen since April 9 is indicated by the fact that at the end of July Denmark's National Bank had a clearing balance of 192,000,000 kroner, as compared with a small clearing debt before the invasion. Germany, in a word, is buying all it can get from Denmark, but selling little, and least of all the things that Denmark most desperately needs. Unemployment is steeply on the upgrade, hovering around 100,000 at the best season of the year, although more than 10,000 men have been sent to work in Germany, and at least 3,000 more will go shortly. The country's prosperity has always depended on its trade with Great Britain, and it is plain that lean years are ahead.

When the Danes made up their minds not to resist the invasion, they knew of course that they were in for hardships and humiliations, but they had one hope—that surrender would spare their country the horrors of war. Since then, however, the frequent and vigorous British air raids on German military positions in Denmark have opened their eyes to a different reality. Some Danish cities, Aalborg, for instance, have been bombed by the British more than thirty times. A large number of Danish workers employed in building new airdromes for the Germans were killed in one of these raids. Copenhagen too, with its great airport at Kastrup and its big shipbuilding yards, has been a target for the British bombers. Although the summer season is ending, everybody who can afford it still stays away from the city; all the hotels and boarding-houses along the "Danish Riviera" on the Sound are full of people who wish to escape for a while from the perpetual nightly alarms.

While the German High Command and the controlled Danish officials deny that any damage has been done by the British bombers to military establishments, Danish fishermen have another story to tell. They know that the British scored some direct hits on the big oil and gasoline stores at Nyborg, for all fishing in the Great Belt was impossible for weeks because the water was thick with floating oil. The full story of the havoc wrought by British submarines and magnetic mines in the waters surrounding Denmark has not yet been told. Naturally, the German censors in the Danish newspapers offices and broadcasting services do their utmost to minimize the effects of British warfare on sea and in the air. But the wreckage that unceasingly is washed ashore, the reports of "engine-trouble," "boiler explosions," shipwrecks, and suspension of traffic in Danish waters give a hint of the truth. Or take this detail: before the invasion, the Danish State Railroads ran eight ferry-boats from Zealand to Funen; only four of these are left, and every child in Denmark knows where the other four are—at the bottom of the Great Belt, with their load of German soldiers and ammunition.

A noteworthy by-product of the Nazi invasion is the marked revival of patriotic sentiment in a country which has never had any jingoistic leanings and even used to be rather stinting in its show of patriotism. Some weeks ago a hundred thousand Copenhageners gathered in the Faelledparken to sing Danish folk-songs—the first gathering of its kind in the capital. This was a striking, if

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discreet manifestation of the new national spirit. Accompanying this reawakening of national feeling are marked signs that the people are rallying round the personality of King Christian. Denmark's king has not always been so popular as, for example, King Gustav of Sweden. Since the invasion, however, the former opposition seems to have all but disappeared, and the nation's attachment to the royal house appears to symbolize its wish not to be submerged in a vast Germanic empire, but to retain its own culture and its soul.

No NLRB for Ben Hill County

BY GEORGE C. STONEY

Winston-Salem, N. C., September 25

ON THE evening of August 8, 1938, Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, minister, sometime professor of religion and sociology at Oglethorpe University, and since 1937 regular organizer for the C. I. O.'s Textile Workers' Union, was sitting on the veranda of the Lee-Grant Hotel in Fitzgerald, Georgia, talking with James W. Cox, president of the local cotton mill, for which his organization had been certified as bargaining agent by the NLRB. A stranger called Dr. Dodge to the edge of the steps, and one of a dozen or more men struck him with a blackjack. They then threw him into the back of a truck, beat him, took him into the woods beyond the town, threatened his life, and near midnight turned him loose with the warning that if he showed his face in Fitzgerald again he would be killed.

Two years later the president, secretary and general manager, treasurer, and two foremen of the mill were brought to trial in Waycross, Georgia, charged with "a conspiracy to deprive their employees of their civil rights under the existing labor laws." Eleven employees were also indicted, officers and employees being jointly charged with such specific acts as reducing wages in order to force resignation from the union, circulating printed forms for such resignations, preventing employees from holding meetings, closing the plant with the specific objective of compelling resignation from the union, preventing relief organizations from aiding employees during the shutdown, beating certain organizers, and discharging employees for union activity.

"Old Dodge is a strange case," said Barry Wright, leading defense attorney, at the trial. "He is a man who has forsaken the holy tabernacle of the living God to get into the C. I. O. trough. He was beaten in Fitzgerald. Yes, he was beaten. But if old Dodge had been hung up to a tree by his thumbs and whipped with a lash, it would not have anything to do with this case."

The Fitzgerald Cotton Mill is one of several hundred marginal concerns scattered over the South, operated by Southerners but owned or controlled by selling agents in the North, who furnish the operating capital. In the spring of 1938 its employees chose the Textile Workers' Union for their bargaining agent by a vote of 197 to 22. Later in the spring notice of a 16½ per cent wage cut was tacked up beside the time clock. The union had not been notified. When it protested, the management, on advice of its attorneys, withdrew the proposal.

Then an anti-union campaign was begun. Alton Lawrence, a young Southern organizer who had done most of the work of building the Fitzgerald local, was attacked on the steps of the courthouse. Later he barely missed Dr. Dodge's fate when thugs blocked the roads leading from a house where he was holding a council meeting. He escaped through the bushes. Yellow union-resignation cards appeared in the mill workers' shabby houses up the slope from the plant and in the raw pine shacks about the edge of the village. One half of each card was addressed to the union, giving notice that John Doe no longer wished to be represented by it. The other half was addressed to the mill management, reporting his resignation.

These cards, printed by the local newspaper's printshop on the order of a mill agent, were copied from the *Observer,* a sheet giving instruction in anti-union tactics published in Greenville, South Carolina, allegedly by the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Cox admitted on the stand that in obedience to orders from New York he had met the editor of the *Observer* in Atlanta, had paid the editor's expenses for the trip with two ten-dollar bills instead of a check, and had discussed the circulation of this paper and the distribution of the resignation forms among his employees.

In June of '38 the mill closed down. The officers asserted that it could not get enough orders to maintain operation at the union scale of wages. If employees would resign from the union and accept the wage cut, it would reopen. (Government attorneys proved that during the month that the mill was inactive orders for more than $100,000 worth of material were received.) When employees applied for relief they were refused. Relief officials testified that the mill management assured them the plant would reopen before need became acute. The abduction and beating of Dr. Dodge came a week after the mill reopened. It was the beginning of

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a "clean-up" anti-union campaign. No organizer dared go into Fitzgerald after that.

All these facts were presented by the prosecution and were unrefuted by the defense in the trial. But the verdict returned was "Not guilty!"

A year of work by Department of Justice investigators and FBI men had gone into the preparation of the government's case. The star witness was John Moyer, an investigator for the Wage and Hour Administration, who in '37 and '38 was an assistant superintendent of the Fitzgerald plant. He told of hearing the violence plotted, of seeing some of the yellow union-resignation cards in the office of the mill, and of hearing the superintendent say he was going to put them away for future reference. Other men who had previously made statements to the federal investigators showed signs of having been intimidated. The verdict might have been different if they had spoken freely, though the testimony of several employees who risked their jobs and their skins to speak seemed to make no difference.

Let's look at the jury. Five were naval-store operators, engaged in an industry in which pay runs as low as $4 a week, debt peonage is frequent, and unionism is smacked down with gun stocks. Four were planters and rural supply merchants, leaders of their crossroads communities and belonging to that sector of the South's population which has not recognized the Fourteenth Amendment, much less the "communistic" Wagner Act. One was a mill official, and one a member of the Georgia Legislature.

When Federal Attorneys T. H. Dodd and J. J. Lyman arrived in Waycross two weeks before the trial, they found that the jurors had already been chosen. J. Saxon Daniels, the district attorney, had gone ahead with this formality during the previous session of court—"in the interest of economy," as he put it. Oh, yes, he had been careful to warn them not to talk with anyone about the case during the interval. Rumors that the jury had been "fixed" were plentiful, but the government's representatives could not override Daniels.

Judge William H. Barrett, well known for his hostility to labor, presided. During the two weeks of trial he allowed the jurors to go home at night, to read the newspapers, and to talk with the public at large. At the frequent recesses jurors and defendants enjoyed Coca-Colas together at the stand across the street from the courthouse. On the third day of the trial the jury went to the movies. Quite coincidentally a special "short" followed the regular feature. In it a father told his son how a great mill operator had built up their community despite the opposition of labor organizers.

Judge Barrett's final instruction to the jury was a reminder of the "rights" of employers. In his final plea Barry Wright, the defense attorney, made it clear that this was not a case of justice versus injustice but one of business versus labor. It took the jury just forty minutes to prove its class loyalty.

Back in Fitzgerald I found the workers frightened, hopeless, and demoralized—ready for the revivalist preacher who had pitched his tent on the back street; ready for a demagogue like Gene Talmadge, who is promising them heaven on earth if he is elected governor. It will be years before a strong union can be built again.

I asked the federal district clerk in Waycross if the thugs who beat Dr. Dodge would be indicted in the local courts for assault. "Huh," he replied, "they don't arrest people for things like that in Ben Hill County."

Within the Gates

THE Italian consul general in New York, Gaetano Vecchiotti, declared not long ago: "Il Duce has condensed the duty of the Italians into these few words: 'Work and arm.' For us, Italians living abroad, the word 'arm' should signify a continuous, stubborn propaganda among the people of other races." Signor Vecchiotti's frank statement revealed nothing new; it is no secret that the Italian government is carrying on verbal warfare against democracy. But it is not so well known that our public schools are being used by Italian propagandists for this purpose.

The propagandists are particularly active in schools which have classes conducted in Italian for children of immigrants who speak Italian in the home. In the textbooks used in these schools the Fascist point of view is openly expressed. This literal translation of an extract from an elementary reader entitled "Andiamo in Italia" is typical:

> Fascism has remade the Italy which the parties and the politicians, all of whom were solicitous for their own interests, had reduced to slight importance. . . . Italy was a disorderly and disorganized country in which all wanted to talk louder without listening to the voice of the ruler. Now this voice which commands is well heard by all and order has been reestablished as by a miracle. The future will tell how much Italy owes to its present chief and to the state organization that he personifies.

Another textbook, "Vita Italiana," in a foreword frankly acknowledges its debt to the Italian Tourist Information Office, an Italian government agency. Both these books were put out by a reputable publishing firm (Henry Holt and Company) and have been approved by public officials—facts which greatly increase their propaganda value. And what is very important to the impoverished Italian government, they cost it nothing. In fact, the books are paid for either by the parents of the pupils or by the city, and the authors collect royalties from the publishing houses.

In New York, and to a lesser degree in other cities having a large Italian population, the public-school buildings have been used frequently as meeting places by Fascist organizations. On May 24 last the National United Italian Association, an organization formed for the purpose of coordinating the activities of Italian-American groups, held a meeting in

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the auditorium of the New Utrecht High School, Brooklyn, to inaugurate what was euphemistically called an "Americanization campaign." This meeting was opened, not with the Star-Spangled Banner, but with the Fascist anthem Giovinezza, and was concluded with the Fascist song Balilla. The principal speaker was the notorious propagandist Captain Vincenzo Martinez. Hundreds of public-school buildings have been similarly used by Il Duce's agents in their campaign to undermine the Americanism of new Americans.

Recently, to supplement their work in the public schools, the Italian diplomatic and consular officials have begun to move in on the parochial schools. By enlisting the support of certain Fascist-minded priests, they have been eminently successful in converting education into propaganda. Perhaps the most flagrant instance of Italian interference in Catholic education occurred in June of this year when the Reverend Francis Cagnina, who conducts Italian classes at the Saint Clara Parochial School, Brooklyn, permitted an attaché of the Italian consulate to conduct the final examination of all students. In an address delivered after the examination the attaché promised to inform Consul General Vecchiotti of the "splendid results."

Just in case the propaganda in the public and parochial schools fails to sell Fascism to students of Italian extraction, hundreds of Fascist clubs have organized *doposcuole,* or after-schools, which are generally conducted by teachers recently arrived from Italy. These teachers praise Mussolini and Fascism and sneer at democracy as "decadent and outmoded." Some of them require the younger students to repeat aloud such vows as this: "When I grow up, when at last I am a soldier, I shall fight for Italy, my fatherland, and I shall win. I shall take from the enemy flags and prisoners, and I shall earn many medals of valor."

For a time the activities of these schools were partially coordinated by the National United Italian Association, but this spring Consul General Vecchiotti sponsored the formation of the so-called Committee pro Italian Language to complete the job of regimentation. Under the chairmanship of Vecchiotti this committee meets regularly at the Palazzo d'Italia, New York, and supervises the placing of teachers and the selection of textbooks for all *doposcuole.* It was revealed recently by the anti-Fascist Italian News Service that the Committee pro Italian Language controls some thirty-one schools in the New York area alone. Four of these schools are for adult education only.

Before the outbreak of the war many boys and girls of Italian parentage who reacted favorably to Fascist propaganda were rewarded with free summer vacation trips to Italy. There they were placed in the hands of master-propagandists who finished the job begun in the schools.

The devotion of the Italian government to youth is rather touching. It does not even neglect the unborn. Fascist officials have announced that it is the duty of every pregnant Italian woman living abroad to return home prior to confinement. The government pays travel expenses both ways for the expectant mother and for all children who cannot be left behind, as well as hospital and medical costs. A child born in Italy, unlike one born abroad, has not the option at maturity of remaining an Italian citizen or becoming a citizen of the country in which his parents live.

In the Wind

INSIDERS SAY that Senator McNary was the man most horrified by Wendell Willkie's statement denouncing the Overton-Russell proposal to conscript factories that refused to cooperate in the defense program. McNary told friends that if he had been present in the Senate at the time of the vote he would have supported the amendment. Long an advocate of conscription of wealth as well as men, McNary thought Willkie had made a bad blunder.

BLACK FRIDAY: The San Diego *Union* recently carried on its front page an item headed "Beg Your Pardon." It read, "The statement in last Saturday's issue of the *Union* that a 'dusky' eleven-pound girl was born to Mr. and Mrs. John Henry on Friday afternoon was a typographical error. The item should have read that a 'husky' eleven-pound girl was born."

THE PRESS ACCOUNTS didn't say so, but at the conclusion of Merwin K. Hart's pro-fascist address to the Union League Club one officer of the club denounced him heatedly in the presence of a good many spectators. Most of the audience, however, was pro-Hart.

WILLKIE HEADQUARTERS are unhappy about publication of advertisements for Willkie "kits" which name the R. J. Donnelly firm as the place to get them. Donnelly has been for years under the fire of the powerful typographical unions, and the ads appeared in the midst of the G. O. P. campaign to win over labor. The Republicans have been hearing about it ever since.

CONSCRIPTION MAY affect a big baseball deal. It is understood that prospective purchasers of the Yankees have been scared by the possibility that Joe Di Maggio and several other key players may be drafted. Their loss would reduce the property's value considerably.

ADVERTISEMENT in the Washington *Evening Star:* "New 'anti-red' bill barring foreign-born revolutionists from citizenship passed the House with no dissenting votes. Sometimes there's simply no room for argument. Here's a similar instance. Try Marlow's Famous Reading Anthracite, the low-ash hard coal."

TWO FILM COMPANIES are considering production of a life of Trotsky. . . . The Ford Motor Company is definitely worried about the C. I. O. boycott and has assigned special men to combat it. . . . The wire services have virtually ignored the Toland committee's investigation of migrants since it left the East. . . . The International Student Service, once primarily a refugee agency, may become a full-fledged pro-New Deal student organization.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

NOTHING pleases me more in this present Presidential campaign than the effort to get some votes for Willkie in the old solid South. Some of his supporters are spending real cash money for advertising and maybe other things down below the Potomac. Apparently Mr. Willkie himself takes his chances in what he calls the Southland with some seriousness. He stopped long enough in Texas to say that he has much sympathy for the Southern view that the tradition of voting Democratic in the South rises from necessity, and to declare that for the people of the South to live up to this tradition would be under normal circumstances a very natural and wise thing to do. Everybody knows what that necessity is supposed to be. And I doubt that Mr. Willkie would have risked stating his sympathy for it, which may not help him in Harlem, if he had not had real hope in the South.

Mr. Willkie, I believe, is unduly hopeful. The last time he put his heart into an election in the South to the extent of $20,000 of the Commonwealth and Southern's money in Chattanooga, his side lost two to one. His chances in the South are not much better now. But it would be an excellent thing for the South, and the country too, regardless of the result in electoral votes, if all the Willkie men in the South would come out honestly and openly for the Republican candidate. They won't.

When Mr. Hoover cracked the South, his votes came, even if out of prejudice, from the masses of the people at the bottom. Willkie's strength is at the top, and largely among those who have not only been against Roosevelt all the time but also against almost every program, local or federal, to improve the lot of the people at the bottom of the South, which is the bottom of America. There are plenty of voters down there, despite poll-tax restrictions in some states, which those at the top honor and uphold. In most Southern states those Democratic voters decided the third-term issue before the campaign was begun by instructing their delegates to the national convention to nominate Roosevelt for a third term. That may not prove that the ordinary people are wiser in 1940 than they were in 1928, but they certainly are not stirred by the third term as they were stirred then about prohibition and the Pope.

The little fellows at least had the courage of their prejudices. I doubt that the Roosevelt haters will have the courage of theirs. Already a silence has fallen on some of those conservatives in Congress who got to be called statesmen in the North because they came from the South to oppose Roosevelt between election years. Even some bankers and utility executives are growing quiet now. I am sorry. Nothing better could happen in the South than a frank and forthright fight for Willkie by those in the banks and brokerage offices, mills, and utility companies who have hated Roosevelt for eight years and reform in general for eight times as long as that. A few of them will work openly for him. More will give him aid and comfort quietly. But most of them will vote for Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket not because they want him, God knows, but because they want to continue to dominate the Democratic Party in their states. Too much they have done that and too long. Their money and their influence are the explanation of the big reactionary element among Southern Democrats, of which even the Democratic President—for whom most of them are going to vote—has complained.

As is increasingly well known, they and the pompous or persuasive men who represent them are the most dangerous Southern demagogues. Often those who seem to seek the support, on the basis of their prejudices, of the leathernecks, the crackers, and the hillbillies are their men, too. The rank and file can get along without demagogues much better than these big boys can. Political sideshow is more often than not a part of power's play-acting. Little, simple, ignorant men in the South are not the ones who have habitually followed the Democratic Party without believing in it, in a blind tradition which Mr. Willkie understands arises from necessity. Certainly that supposed necessity may be a part of their prejudices. But the rank and file were honestly and uproariously enthusiastic for Bryan and Wilson. They have been even more devoted to Roosevelt. Shrewder and richer men have been the ones who followed, not in blind prejudice, but in sharp-eyed determination upon power.

They will follow still. Republican as most of them are in all their convictions, they will be Democrats this year and next year and the next, in name and in damaging influence on democratic principles in the party to which they must attach themselves for rule. They hope Mr. Willkie will be elected. But Mr. Willkie is in ignorance if he thinks he can take them with him out of the Democratic Party in the South. I am sorry he is mistaken. There would be more chance of democracy in the South —and in the whole nation with the South's help—if he could.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE tale of imprisonment and death, or "suicide," in a Nazi concentration camp has been told many times in our unhappy era. The pattern is all too familiar; and it is repeated in "Beyond Tears" by Irmgard Litten (Alliance Book Corporation, $2.75). But there are two elements in the story of Hans Litten as told by his mother which give it the impact not only of a familiar personal history but of a legend created out of the experience of many men. The principal element is the character of Hans Litten; the second rises from the fact that Irmgard Litten, having passed through hers and her son's ordeal, has reached the point literally beyond tears at which the sentimental superfluous word cannot be spoken.

Hans Litten was the son of the rector of the University of Königsberg. He was by predilection a scholar; by nature a dedicated man. When he decided to become a lawyer instead of a philologist, his fate was sealed. Inevitably he became the defender of poor men and of the political partisans of the poor; inevitably he ran head-on into the Nazi gangsters who were building power by breaking the law. In 1931, in the course of his losing fight to preserve the forms of law and give them content he even went so far as to hale Adolf Hitler into court in connection with a murder the Nazis had committed and in a searching cross-examination attempted to force the admission that the Nazi Party deliberately used violence and murder as methods to attain power.

Litten was arrested on the night of the Reichstag fire. His mother immediately began her long fight for his release. She appealed to many influential persons in Germany who had been among her close friends. She appealed also to influential people abroad. Time and again she went to the offices of the Gestapo, where her very unworldliness as well as her connections afforded her a kind of protection. She met sympathy in strange places, cowardice in others. Sometimes she managed visits to her son; she was able through pressure on officials to have his treatment ameliorated for a time. As a decent German she could not give up the idea that her son would be released—and this assumption that she must somehow succeed, that Germans could not be so deliberately cruel as the Nazis are, is one of the most pathetic aspects of her story. She did not succeed. Litten's imprisonment and her continuous fight for his release went on for five years. Then she received word that he had committed suicide and that she would be allowed to bury him.

The character of Litten is revealed mainly not in the direct comments of his mother but in the words and actions of the men and women who knew him in and out of prison. His clients and friends among the poor worshiped him.

> One day [writes Mrs. Litten] a woman came to see me. She had often mended his clothes in the past. . . . After some enthusiastic remark of hers, I said: "I am always being told that in North Berlin there are many people who worship Hans as though he were a saint." She gave me a reproving glance, and said, with emphasis: "He *is* a saint."

His fellow-prisoners, when they were released, came to tell her how her son, drawing upon his great fund of knowledge and his amazing memory, had relieved the monotony and hopelessness of prison life.

> Those of them who lived in Berlin often came to see me, for Hans had impressed it upon me that I must keep an eye on them and insure that the intellectual interest which he had awakened in them was not allowed to decline.

And one of them told her:

> If they had asked me whether I wanted to be released I should have said: "No; I'd rather stay here as long as Hans is here." Though, of course, if they were to ask me now—that is, now that I know what it is to be free—I suppose I should say "Yes."

They told her too how he had stood out against the attempts of the Nazis to break his spirit as they had long since broken his physical health. And one of them, when she asked if they had tried to get Hans to act as a spy among the prisoners, answered indignantly that no one, not even a Nazi guard, would dare do such a thing.

There is evidence that Litten's cross-examination of Hitler was one of the reasons for his imprisonment and torture—no charge was brought against him—but the larger fact which emerges from his story is that the real charge against him was his own pure character, his single-minded passion for justice, legal and social. No such man could be allowed at large in the underworld of the Third Reich.

Rudolf Olden, who went down two weeks ago in a torpedoed refugee ship, once said that Litten was "a Franciscan character." Saints have gone out of fashion; legends are suspect. Yet one cannot help applying the word saint to the hero of "Beyond Tears"; and the story of his martyrdom, told as it is with severe restraint, has the primary unpremeditated force of a legend in which the old struggle between Good and Evil is once more made contemporary and real.

MARGARET MARSHALL

How Norway Fell

I SAW IT HAPPEN IN NORWAY. By Carl J. Hambro. D. Appleton–Century Company. $2.50.

IN THE early hours of April 9, 1940, Mr. Hambro helped to organize the escape from Oslo of the Norwegian royal family, the government, and the gold reserve. As president of the Storting, the Norwegian parliament, he presided over the historic session at Hamar which unanimously indorsed the decision of the government to reject the German ultimatum and resist invasion to the uttermost. In the months since he has played his part in carrying out that decision and is now in America as a kind of ambassador-at-large for the Norwegian government-in-exile.

In this book Mr. Hambro does not attempt to give a

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complete history of Hitler's treacherous conquest of Norway, but he throws light on a good many phases which have hitherto been obscure. He gives us, for instance, a fairly full account of Quisling, the would-be Norwegian Führer, whose inner conviction of his own importance thrived on the refusal of his countrymen to take him seriously. It is interesting to learn that after a term of service in the legation at Moscow Quisling returned to Norway an enthusiastic Communist. However, the Labor Party, although far to the left in those days, proved unresponsive to his plans for organizing a "red guard." He then turned to the Farmers' Party and became a member of a short-lived government which he helped disrupt by his inability to collaborate. His term of office was chiefly notable for an alleged "assault" on him by Communists, which he is generally believed to have faked.

After this experience Quisling started his own National Unity Party, which was never able to win a seat in Parliament and reached its apex in the elections of 1933, when it polled 2.33 per cent of the total electorate. Mr. Hambro is at great pains to make clear the insignificance of the pro-Nazi element in Norway and seeks to refute stories of widespread native treachery, which, he declares, were deliberately invented and circulated by German agents. He shows, for instance, that several members of Quisling's abortive "Cabinet" were named without their knowledge or consent and proved their patriotism by immediately joining the army. He is also able to provide evidence contradicting stories of treachery by high army and navy officers.

The real fifth column in Norway, Mr. Hambro insists, was composed of Germans—diplomatic and consular officials, newspapermen, business men, and tourists—who grossly abused Norwegian hospitality and trustfulness. The strange thing is that Norway was so unsuspicious and so little prepared against a surprise attack. And this Mr. Hambro does not really explain.

When I was in Oslo in the summer of 1939 I heard everywhere talk of the activity of German agents, and most people I spoke to believed that, if war broke out in Europe, Scandinavia would become involved. The government must have had a good deal of information about the Nazi espionage system. Why did it not take steps to suppress it? The answer, I believe, is partly that it clung to a hope that, if nothing were done to offend Berlin, the country might somehow escape attack. In addition, Norway always felt that the British navy would prove its first line of defense, since Britain could not allow the Norwegian coast to fall into German hands. But the Germans understood this too, and in their plans for attack without warning at widely distant points gambled on Britain being too late. Had the Norwegian government exercised the rigid control over German merchant shipping that knowledge of German methods and activities demanded, the Nazi "surprise party" might have had a different ending.

There are plenty of lessons for America in this book. It should help us to realize, in the words of the author, that "every German embassy is a potential center of fifth-column mobilization: every German consulate . . . the privileged stable of a Trojan horse." It is even more important to understand that the danger personified by Hitler is moral as well as physical and can only be thwarted by facing all its implications. Europe today is a graveyard of disillusioned ostriches.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Carat Weight of the Heart

WARTIME LETTERS OF RAINER MARIA RILKE. Translated by M. D. Herder Norton. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

RILKE was thirty-eight years old in August, 1914, when this selection of letters begins, and forty-six, in December, 1921, when it closes. These letters, therefore, are not exclusively "war-time." Their chief interest lies in the fact that they cover the most unproductive period of Rilke's life: the period when he was unable to write poetry and was forced, both by outer circumstances and his own spiritual state, to undergo the full experience of moral agony necessary before his final work could come into being. He had often spoken of the "heart-work" necessary before creation. In these years he was forced to experience that work anew; and it was, as is usual in great natures, great labor.

Rilke's spiritual health was precarious in 1914, as it had been for some years previously. Having accomplished an extraordinary amount of writing in the decade from 1904 to 1914, he now felt himself at a dead end: finished with one way of thinking and feeling, and not yet ready for a new phase. His nervous exhaustion was noted in 1913 by one of his close friends: "The impression he made on me was one of extreme anxiety; he talked excitedly . . . with extreme nervousness. . . . He had always given way to the feelings of other people he said; now at last he was going to feel desire and love." The poet who in ten years had written down fully the account of his childhood and youthful neuroticism (in "The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge"), and who in the 175 poems in the "Neue Gedichte" volumes had caught, in full complex beauty, his intuitions into nature, his own subtle mind, and the "things" created by man, might well be emptied of the impulse to create. Rilke had always known that his role was one of "openness." He was an instrument made to receive life, in all its manifestations, both monstrous and beautiful. But now, even before the outbreak of the war, he no longer functioned as this instrument; and his state of depression was so strong that he came to Munich to ask aid of a psychiatrist.

"The experience of the war was certainly the severest test of Rilke's conviction that whatever is, is right," one commentator has said. Rilke was on his way from Leipsic to Munich when war was declared. A note in the present volume suggests that what he saw on that journey across southern Germany—"the armed men, the singing, the farewells—must have swept him into the current of exalted excitement that caused him to write his only—and quickly deprecated—war poems." These poems ("Five Songs, August 1914") are truly hysterical productions. They show Rilke at his worst, and resurrect the sentimentality of the adolescent Rilke, before this for years outgrown. Their only value is that they prove no poetry can ever again be written on the subject of modern war. It took Rilke only a week or so to discover their falsity; and from that time on, throughout the war, on the

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subject of war he was silent, except for the scathing analyses of "the whole sad man-made situation" frequently repeated in his letters.

The war, however, was not through with Rilke. Born in Prague, he had for years transferred his allegiance to Paris. Having lived in almost every country in Europe as a "guest-friend," he was now forced to return to Germany in order not to be interned as an Austrian. Then, in 1915, after a military examination, he was found fit and promptly conscripted for service in the Austrian army. This conscription lasted for some months, and his service in Vienna was terminated only after the intervention of his publisher and other friends. These people have spoken of the experience, touching and terrible, of seeing Rilke in uniform.

He returned to Munich, to his own long struggle with his divided nature. The "cleft" in Rilke between "narcissism and objectivity" is nowhere clearer than in his correspondence at this time. "This cleft is common in most extreme artists, but Rilke was in danger of sheer disintegration through it." He now felt himself "a beginner," and saw the people about him in Munich as "finished" in the most invidious sense of the word. All talk of "evasion" and "escapism," applied often so glibly to Rilke in accordance with the dictates of modern jargon, seems particularly fatuous when the long, slow process of his development in these years is examined. Rilke had written in 1906: "Those who live with courage . . . can never be deceived or disappointed in the essential realities of life. . . . When we accept the difficulties of life, it becomes easy (since we have enormous resources of strength within us). And we must adhere to difficulty, if we would make any claim to having a part in life. . . . What we are to understand by courage is a valiant attitude in facing the strangest and most inexplicable things that can happen to us." All this, which Rilke once knew, he had to relearn. In the most inauspicious circumstances he continued "to measure with the carat weight of the heart, in place of the false measure of suspicion, happiness, or luck."

These letters lead to the last poems—"because in them the development of these great poems develops slowly, uninterruptedly, almost imperceptibly, throughout the whole course of the correspondence." At the end, the disoriented man has "suffered through" his problem and in 1921 is ready with a touching eagerness "to understand and adapt himself to the needs of others, especially of those younger and perplexed by life, as he himself had often been." The later letters are sometimes written to strangers who had written him for counsel. And they are a corrective to the tendency to make Rilke into a priest or prophet. His human defects show up clearly, especially his occasional tendency toward snobbery and dependence. He was above all things a poet, of a sensibility developed far beyond his time. He came to a reconciliation with himself, and to a triumph in his art, by using the most ancient wisdom and the most modern insights. He was opposed to modern brutality and, most of all, to the modern moral pretensions which cover it. He stands for the future, where "lamenting" need not cancel out "praise"; and to read him is an antidote against the fear, hatred, and revenge of the present. To read his poetry and his letters with understanding leads one toward a world where there are no victories, but only "assent."

LOUISE BOGAN

A Novel of Questioning

COUNT TEN. By Hans Otto Storm. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.50.

WHILE there is no reason why a short novel cannot be as satisfactory and well-rounded as a long one, many readers who relished the virile, meaty compactness of Mr. Storm's "Pity the Tyrant" and "Made in U. S. A." have doubtless looked forward to a book in which he would shake off the gratuitous shackles of a rigidly circumscribed setting and really let himself go. In "Count Ten" he gives himself full scope: his plot embraces the major portion of a man's life and most of the Western Hemisphere; he writes with easy familiarity about sailing, mining, electrical engineering, hospital work, airplane building and flying; and he packs into the book's 625 pages a rich cargo of mature, seasoned reflection, skilfully imbedded in an absorbing narrative.

His hero, Eric Marsden, is in many respects a twentieth-century Anthony Adverse, although the story lacks the fireworks and flourishes that made Hervey Allen's novel a publisher's gold mine. Eric is orphaned as a young lad when the airplane in which he is riding with his father crashes (the title is taken from his father's injunction to count ten before he pulls the parachute cord, a test of courage and self-control which forms the keynote of his problems throughout the book); he goes to prison as a conscientious objector during the World War; he fashions a life for himself in a Mexican seacoast village with an Indian wife, after whose death he sails on an adventurous cruise with a romantic and not altogether convincing American entrepreneur; he wins a moderate success for himself as roving representative for a mining trust, but after being badly hurt in another airplane crack-up he marries and settles down into as much peace and happiness as a man of his questing spirit can ever hope to find. For from beginning to end the shining goal of his search has been, not money or position or any kind of outward trophy, but genuine self-respect, the kind of spiritual security that comes only when a man's actions square undeviatingly with his principles. Can one, he constantly queries, master the techniques of medicine, geology, navigation, carpentry, whatever other skills expediency may demand of a man living in a material world, and yet remain a philosopher, a specialist in wisdom?

For the renunciations that beset the path to this dark tower of the mind, Eric is stoically fortified; but like all thinking men he must wrestle naked and unarmed, in the arena of his own soul, with the monster of the basic issue, the question: Is renunciation itself right and wise? If the book conveys any simple yes-or-no answer to this complex question, it must be ferreted out from a myriad of suggestions, and I for one am by no means convinced that Mr. Storm has intended to answer it. His novels are filled with sardonic humor, and instead of hanging up the moral key ostentatiously and conveniently in the closing speeches, they have a way of ending, as it were, with a rising inflection, like a lecturer who wants to prod his audience into active participation in the open forum. "Count Ten" is like that, forceful and stimulating, but definitely not for the slothful reader.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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A Surgeon's Story

HUGH YOUNG: A SURGEON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Hugh Young, M.D. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

THE autobiography of an energetic, forceful personality is dangerously prone to the twin evils of egotistical display in style and bad taste in the inclusion of material. Hugh Young was unable to escape either of these pitfalls. The text of this most recent contribution to popular writings by physicians contains many illustrations of the genital organs of the persons upon whom the author has operated, with detailed discussions of the ailments of some of his most notable patients, including Woodrow Wilson. Both the patients and the diseases are called by their proper names. Some of the personal history, especially of the author's childhood, is interesting if somewhat lusty. His satisfaction in the precise number of pheasants, grouse, duck, bear, deer, and other animals that he has killed when he was not busy operating upon human beings may please some readers; it will certainly offend many others.

The author is recognized by the medical profession as a distinguished and accomplished surgeon. It is a great pity that he felt impelled to write a popular account of his achievements for an audience unprepared to evaluate them scientifically but more than capable of detecting the literary and personal weaknesses revealed in their narration.

KARL MENNINGER

A Promising Past

TRELAWNY: A MAN'S LIFE. By Margaret Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $3.

"THIS is a young man," said Heine of De Musset, "with a very promising past," and while such a melancholy dictum applied to all the Romantics in some degree, it was completely true of Mr. E. J. Trelawny. But what else is true about Miss Armstrong's new hero is hard for me to say. Maurois calls Trelawny a comic-opera adventurer. After abusing him at some length in "The Last Journey," Harold Nicolson adds rather unnecessarily: "Besides, Trelawny was a liar and a cad." If Byron himself seems more tolerant than his biographers ("Tre was an excellent fellow until he took to imitating my 'Childe Harold' "), Miss Armstrong's portrait is nevertheless the first wholly sympathetic study of this enigmatic corsair who in literary history hovers around the remains of both Shelley and Byron.

For the readers of "Fanny Kemble" it is needless to mention the talent which Miss Armstrong brings to a perhaps formidable task. And the opening sections of her biography are really splendid. Trelawny as the disinherited aristocrat, as French privateer, as Arabian chieftain—or in Swinburne's more elegant phrase, as "sea-king, swordsman, hater of wrong"—to these scenes Miss Armstrong carries a fine fusion of scholarship and dramatic creation. Do we still retain an element of bilious skepticism in our appreciation of these early adventures, as picturesque and as pat as a Byronic canto? Yet perhaps Trelawny—so perfectly the Romantic "Fatal Man" as to seem to embody in his exploits the myth of a generation—is merely an example of Wilde's nature which copies art. And if so, it must be granted that both nature and Miss Armstrong do a nice job of reproduction.

Saying this, we must admit also that in its final impact Miss Armstrong's new work is disappointing. Whereas a Fanny Kemble in her maturity was more indignant and perceptive than ever, Trelawny dwindles. After Shelley's death, Trelawny himself noted, the Pisa circle "degenerated apace." On the circle Miss Armstrong adds little new, nor indeed does she take full advantage of the tortuous illuminations of such a study as "The Romantic Agony." The pompous comedy of Byron emerges, not the paroxysms which were its cause, and so with Shelley and his Mary. So with Trelawny too. His lack of fruition is not conveyed, the squandering of his early and fine energy, however lawless or even literary it may have been. For here also Trelawny might have been seen more clearly as the Fatal Man of his era, talented, aspiring, and disorganized—this exotic revolutionary who resolves his lifelong rebellion by planting shrubs on the Sabbath.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

Report from the Front

TWIN STARS OF CHINA. By Major Evans Fordyce Carlson. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

THE story of China's heroic resistance has been told rather frequently during the past year or two, but in this book we have for the first time the report of a skilled military observer. Major Carlson, former military attaché to the American embassy, is not only technically qualified to pass judgment on the military aspects of the struggle but had the exceptional opportunity of visiting all of the main battle fronts.

As may be gathered from the title of his book, Major Carlson is acquainted with both the regular Chinese forces and the Eighth Route Army under Communist leadership. In his visits to the various fronts he saw more of the Chinese Red Army in action than any other Westerner has seen with the exception of Agnes Smedley. Like everyone who has visited the Communist areas, he was tremendously impressed by the selfless devotion of the army's leaders and soldiers. He obviously believes that if other Chinese leaders showed a fraction of the skill the Communists show in organizing the masses for resistance, or were capable of half the physical feats performed by the Red Army, China would have little difficulty in conquering Japan.

Major Carlson also has warm praise for many other Chinese leaders. He attributes much of China's success to the genius of Chiang Kai-shek. He praises the technical skill of General Pai Chung-hsi, Li Chung-jen, Sun Lien-chung, T'ang En-po, and Chin T'ien-jung, and contrasts the zeal and ability of these younger men with the older Chinese militarists, many of whom are still found in responsible posts. The ignorance of the first rules of military strategy betrayed by many of these older leaders is shown to have frequently offset the brilliant work of the better generals. The same contrasts are found in the troops themselves. While all Chinese soldiers are brave and ingenious under normal condi-

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tions, the soldiers of the ex-war lords are so badly trained and led that they are of little value against the better-equipped Japanese forces.

Although written by a military man, "Twin Stars of China" is in no sense a military treatise. It is a story of Major Carlson's experiences and adventures as he traveled over China visiting the various fronts. It is mature in its judgments on other than military matters and extremely well written. As one reads it one wishes that the United States had more military men with the intelligence and breadth of interest with which Major Carlson is obviously endowed.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Engels as Scientist

DIALECTICS OF NATURE. By Frederick Engels. Translated by C. Dutt, with a Preface by J. B. S. Haldane. International Publishers. $3.

A REREADING of this posthumous manuscript of Engels, now available in English, confirms the judgment which Albert Einstein passed on it when Edward Bernstein originally submitted it to him for critical perusal. He declared that it had no significance either for contemporary science or for the history of science. This judgment is not shared by the English editor, J. B. S. Haldane, who continues to circulate the fable invented in Russia, that Einstein saw only part of the manuscript, the section on electricity. The fact is that Einstein saw the whole of it. Although it possesses no scientific importance whatsoever, Engels's manuscript is none the less extremely valuable as a source book of the current state philosophy of the U. S. S. R., dialectical materialism. Whenever the party line changes in science, the justifying quotations are taken from Engels, who did not even have the status of a gifted amateur in science. It should be added in justice to him, however, that as an uncompromising exponent of freedom of inquiry in science, he would in all likelihood have been just as scandalized by the nonsense about proletarian mathematics and science as by the Nazi twaddle about Aryan physics.

The preface by J. B. S. Haldane, the man who claims to have cured himself of gastritis by reading Lenin, is a pitiful illustration of what happens to a fine intelligence when it gets political religion.

SIDNEY HOOK

WHAT GOES ON IN EUROPE?

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Steel and Men

"AS STEEL GOES . . ." By Robert R. R. Brooks. Yale University Press. $3.

THE type of biography which weaves the life of the individual into the warp of his social and economic background has been widely acclaimed. Dr. Brooks has written the biography of an industry using the same technique, enriched by a deep concern for the colorful personalities which vitalize any dynamic social movement. "As Steel Goes . . ." is the story of the development of collective bargaining in one of our basic industries displaying all the characteristics of modern capitalism—mass production, monopolistic control, dichotomy between management and ownership, and exploitation of labor.

The first chapter, A Steel Worker's Story, is a recapitulation of economic events in the United States since 1929. It might have been a rubber worker's story, or an automobile worker's story. A group of workers in a mass-production industry awaken to the necessity of union organization. The employers stoutly resist, using espionage and company unions to break the new independent organizations. In 1935 the NRA loomed as a welcome prop to these struggling unions, but the leader of the moribund Amalgamated Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Union, characterized by one of his own members as "too damned conservative to be an Irishman," made little effort to secure union representation on the newly formed Steel Code Authority. What emerged from that body was an anti-union policy that made Section 7-a of the NRA a dead letter.

Then the steel corporations sponsored the company union, designed to go through the motions of adjusting grievances while thwarting the formation of bona fide unions. Before long the company union became a source of irritation, and the steel workers felt that they were being given the "run around." Young, energetic, unknown leaders of local plants attempted to capture the company union for real union organization. The formation of the C. I. O. crystallized the importance of organizing the steel industry. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee was formed from among these young and energetic men to lead the revolt against the company unions. Thus it happened that a newspaper which they printed ran the startling headline, "Company Union Representatives Press Hard for Wage Increases." It was no accident that this group succeeded subsequently in swinging a large percentage of the membership of the company unions to the S. W. O. C., but not peacefully, not without bloodshed and government aid.

After the National Labor Relations Board was created, the S. W. O. C. met with varying degrees of success in its organization attempts. There is the tragic story of the Republic Steel strike and of the bitter fight which "Little Steel" made against unionization. There is, on the other hand, the success story of Aliquippa, and success story it is, when a new union recruit, a steel worker, can declare, "It is worth twelve dollars a year to be able to walk down the main street of Aliquippa, talk to anyone you want to about anything you like, and feel that you are a citizen." Somber and depressing is the story of unemployment, rapidly rising because

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of technological innovation—this in spite of the fact that the steel industry has been working to greater capacity in 1939-40 than ever before.

The future of collective bargaining in steel, according to the author, is closely intertwined with the future of economic planning in this country, and economic planning depends to a considerable extent upon the political situation. It is for this reason that the S. W. O. C. has encouraged its active members in the steel towns of Pennsylvania and Ohio to run for office—mayors, constables, or members of the town council. It is for this reason that it has been concerned with the creation of a national bloc to keep the government in line with its original policies so far as collective bargaining and unionism are concerned. THERESA WOLFSON

Irving in Spain

THE SPANISH ADVENTURE OF WASHINGTON IRVING. By Claude G. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

HERE is the pleasant retelling of a story told first by Irving in his journals and letters, then by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, in the authorized biography, and in 1935 by Professor Stanley T. Williams in his definitive "Life." Mr. Bowers, our ambassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939, found time to indulge his whim of retracing Irving's path as sentimental traveler and conscientious diplomat a century and more ago. The result is a gay patchwork of history, biography, and romance, somewhat confusingly arrayed. One cannot afford to be misguided by Mr. Bowers's disclaimer of serious intention in his Introduction. In that same Introduction the reader is promised new material resurrected from the archives and other secret hiding-places. But eminently qualified as he is to give us a fresh study of Irving as diplomat, Mr. Bowers throws over "the grueling work of the serious historian," the phrase he applies to Irving's work on Columbus, in favor of pretentious romanticizing. The new findings are scarcely dignified by their setting of frequently careless paraphrase of Irving's journals and letters. In fact, aside from a handful of entertaining anecdotes and the enlarged pictures of Obadiah Rich, Mrs. John O'Shea, Isabella II, child-queen of Spain, and the mysterious beauty Leocadia Zamora, the book contains little that is not gleaned from the familiar sources.

Any biographer of Irving must become preoccupied with the chart of Irving's mercurial temperament. Pain and pleasure, excitement and ennui, self-esteem and dreary frustration: these are the graphic extremes of his fluctuation. In pursuit of his subject Mr. Bowers is himself enmeshed in its toils. The recital of things which Irving admired leads him into the feeble hyperboles in which Irving indulged. "Aflame with enthusiasm," Mr. Bowers "falls under the magic spell of Spain," throws up his hands at the poverty of his language, and slumps into a wearisome catalogue of "charming" people and places.

It is to be hoped that in his promised memoirs of his years in Spain Mr. Bowers will give us more substantial results of his Irving research. LEONARD B. BEACH

Did Fever Fan The Spark of Genius?

• So many of the world's literary immortals have been victims of tuberculosis—can there be some mysterious alliance between the tubercle bacillus and art? Could there be some chemical affinity between fever and genius? Or did the enforced solitude, the wandering from place to place in search of relief, the frantic writing against death's deadline cause the flame to glow so brightly? A practicing physician now reveals from this intriguing viewpoint the lives of Stevenson, Schiller, Marie Bashkirtseff, Katherine Mansfield, Voltaire, Moliere, Francis Thompson, Shelley, Keats, and St. Francis of Assisi, with liberal quotations from each one's correspondence, diaries, and books. 10 illustrations.

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IN BRIEF

HE AND HIS. By Reginald Carter. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

This is a real novel of escape—escape to the Victorian England of Trollope, with a squire and the archdeacon, estate agents and cottagers, a great lady beloved by all the characters and the reader, an old marquis and fine carriage horses. Even the plot is Victorian and strangely interesting. In short, it might almost be a minor Trollope but for a few modern touches.

MELANIE. By Gina Kaus. Modern Age. $2.50.

An unsophisticated young philosophy student in Central Europe falls into the clutches of a jealous young widow, very rich, whom he marries. The story is mainly a psychological study of a woman who has always obtained her own way by threatening suicide. The dénouement moves into the realm of the mystery story. It is well told, with interesting minor characters; Albert, the young man, though he has nothing but his own weakness to blame for his troubles, holds the reader's sympathy to the end.

THE GHOSTLAND. By Fred Rothermell. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

A Brooklyn family, tired of being on relief, goes back to the father's home farm in the Ozarks only to find themselves trapped by drought. Types and situations are vividly etched and sincerely felt. After a winter of calamity which is well brought home to the reader, the son, an ex-newspaperman who tells the story, organizes a farmer's sitdown strike, which ends in disaster. This is a serious book, well done, but it can hardly stand the inevitable comparison with the works of Steinbeck.

PASS THROUGH MANHATTAN. By Richard Wormser. William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

A very competent job of New York realism, turned out in a professional manner. None of the characters are new, and by now they seem to have lost some of their significance. The episodic method of narration tends also to make for rather superficial treatment. The characters, brought into conjunction by a bus accident at the beginning, are either hard-boiled or sentimental or both. It is to some extent a newspaper story, with the familiar atmosphere of golden hearts and quite a lot to drink.

RECORDS

SOME of the things musicians say about critics are as silly as the things the critics write about the musicians. One is that only a man who himself conducts or plays or sings is fit to write about conductors, instrumentalists, or singers. The old answer to that is still good: a man doesn't have to be able to make an omelet in order to be able to judge it. I would say Stark Young is the most distinguished critic in this country (though I would not suspect it from the amount of space he has been getting in the *New Republic*); and he is that, not because of what he himself can do in the arts, but because of what he perceives in them—what he brings, astonishingly, to any art he chooses to consider, in sensitiveness to the medium, in quality of mind, in range and depth of experience and emotion. And it is for lack of these that other critics write the bad criticism most of them do.

As a matter of fact nothing is less profitable than what the men who do things themselves in music have to say about a performance. All they have ears for is the doing: the violinist's double-stopping, the pianist's octaves, the conductor's beat—not the sense the music makes as the violinist, pianist or conductor plays it. Their attitude is illustrated by the New York Philharmonic man whom I overheard saying to another after a Boston Symphony concert: "I'll tell you something else he's got that's good—those first two desks of 'cellos: VERY nice, VERY nice." It was a Boston Symphony player—one whose experience extended back to Muck—who led me to expect something impressive from Mitropoulos; and when I heard Mitropoulos's records I was aware of what had impressed this player—the ability to control the minds and wills and bodies of a hundred men, which is what Mitropoulos has of what a great conductor must have; but I was aware also of what this player had not noticed—the atrocious things Mitropoulos does to music.

These are to be heard in Mitropoulos's Columbia set of Beethoven's Overture "Leonore" No. 3 (X-173, $2.50). I have a notion that the musically distinguished contributions to the Columbia catalogue will continue to be those of Beecham and Weingartner—though as it happens even Beecham's engaging performance of Johann Strauss's "Voices of Spring" (70338-D, $1) suffers from reverberant recording.

The Museum of Modern Art did not exhibit Aztec carvings or eighteenth-century Mexican paintings or Mexican Indian handicrafts reworked by Orozco or Sequeiros. But it exhibited traditional Indian melodies of the Mazahuas and the Yaquis in Stravinskyan contexts created by Carlos Chávez and Luis Sandi, and the sounds of ancient Aztec instruments and scales in musical patterns created by Chávez—these in addition to the brilliant orchestrations by Blas Galindo and Geronimo Fóster of regional popular music of today, the only things I have enjoyed in the Columbia set (414, $4.50) made by Chávez with his excellent little orchestra of Mexicans and Americans and chorus of the National Music League.

There is no condensing an opera—just as there is no condensing a sonnet, a painting, a symphony: one is as much an organic whole as the others. Parts can be taken out of their context—a few lines of the sonnet, a detail of the painting, an aria of the opera; but that isn't condensation. And the National Committee for Music Appreciation's condensed version of "Carmen" is merely a collection of the most popular excerpts—the Prelude to Act 1, the Habanera, Seguidilla, Toreador Song, Flower Aria—with the entr'acte and quintet of Act 2 and part of the final duet of Act 4. The orchestra plays well and the chorus is good; of the solo voices José's is clear and strong, the Toreador's is constricted and gurgly, Carmen's is fair. The recording is clear and bright; but on the last side the chorus is as near the microphone as the soloists, with the absurd result that Carmen and José might be thought to be quarreling in the bull ring before the applauding crowd.

The National Committee set of "Faust" offers the Kermesse chorus, the Golden Calf and Sword arias, the Waltz and meeting of Faust and Marguerite from Act 2; part of their duet from Act 3; the Soldiers' Chorus from Act 4; parts of the duet and trio from Act 5. The Mephistopheles sounds like Pinza; the tenor is again good; the Marguerite is mostly tremolo; the others are negligible. With this set I received the notes, including what is offered as the English text for the music on each record; but actually the text begins at one point, the record at another, and the text includes passages the record omits—all this being very confusing.

I would not pay 75 cents extra for a 25-cent album and some gaudy labels.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

All Aid—Not Short of War

Dear Sirs: Again we live in times that try men's souls, and so far our response has not been noble. Every tenet both of our sacred and of our secular creeds is menaced as never before, and the best that we have yet done is to mumble something "short of war." Our forefathers did not fail to battle for what they believed to be the right, but we, their progeny, are apparently afraid to follow in their steps. None of our would-be leaders has dared to stand up and state the obvious truth that we should fight. Where are our gentlemen unafraid? We are of course not "ready," but we have a navy. We also have potential allies who can defend us while they defend themselves, and whom, if we will, we can much more fully help to defend the common cause. Is it to be supposed that our enemies will let us pick our own good time? We are apparently not yet cognizant of the kind of world in which we live. It is a world in which those who will not share the danger at the side of those who are already in the battle are presently snuffed out one by one like rabbits.

Our recent bargaining with the British seems more than a shade too shrewd. Having exacted from them the promise that, whatever their own fate, they will not dispose of their fleet in such a way as to jeopardize our own precious hides, we sit back in wholly unjustified but deeply complacent satisfaction at having "done our bit" in giving fifty old destroyers for immensely more valuable naval bases. Even as horse-trading this is not enough, for if the British Isles fall, whether or not the empire goes with them, the Germans will be in command of the labor and skills of Britain as well as all the rest of Europe. With an industrious and driven population, greatly surpassing our own in numbers, they will thus be able to outbuild us in ships and all the other implements of war. It has been stated, on high authority, that the ship-building capacity which could be then turned against us would be more than nine times that now available in the United States. The attack on us would, presumably, not be immediate and direct, but we should be subjected to a progressive loss of potential outposts of defense until the allied aggressors were ready to give us the coup de grâce. In these circumstances, must we not highly resolve that the British Isles shall not, if we can in any way prevent it, fall before the conqueror?

There is but one real issue in the current election and it is nothing less than the fate of the American people for decades and even centuries. Must we not, therefore, at the very least, present to the Presidential candidates of both major parties the question: "Will you, as President, recommend to Congress that we declare war on Germany if at any time it seems likely that the island of Britain would otherwise fall to the Nazis and that our armed intervention might make the difference between British success and failure?" The answer of either candidate should be made known to no one until both had made their reply, in writing, to a "trustee."

A clear "I will" from both candidates would do more to hearten the British and confound our mutual enemies than any other action "short of war" could possibly accomplish. A negative reply by either candidate, but not the other, would squarely join the supreme issue along lines which the American people must needs consider. A negative reply by both, unless supported by reasons not yet presented, could mean only that all our politics are utterly false, foolish, and frivolous. Without a British victory the world, these United States, can be, at best, but a workhouse or a prison. We are committed to the view that we must help, and it is not alone of crimes, but also of duties, that one can say that "if 'twere done 'twere best done quickly," without stint or limit. How can we honorably, or even sanely, say to the British that for the sake of our own freedom we will help, but only if it does not cost too much? The plain truth is that we are now hiding—may one not say skulking?—behind the sorely pressed John Bull.

If, after all the evidence to which we have been subjected, we do not recognize the present fatal danger of a Fabian policy we are too stupid to deserve any better fate than we shall get. Are we always to be deprived of the "priceless [military] advantage of the initiative"? If we seek only to defend ourselves against evil, the best that we can fondly hope is that we shall not be utterly lost. The evil cannot be exorcised merely by defense. The British may, of course, save us. But what if they go under? FRANK D. GRAHAM

Princeton, N. J., September 26

Regional Religion

Dear Sirs: My guess is that, while persons from all parts of the nation might approve Jonathan Daniels's criticism of those Nieman Fellows who have left the hinterland for more lucrative jobs in the big cities, none but a Southerner would have written the article he wrote in *The Nation* of September 7. When, a year ago, I was awarded a Nieman Fellowship for nine months' study at Harvard, the theme-song of my friends was that I must not allow myself to be captured by the damn Yankees. A professor in an Alabama college wrote to congratulate me upon my good fortune. He ended his letter with the admonition: "You must return to the South for service in your chosen field." Another letter ended: "One thing only, come back home when your experience with Harvard ends." And from a friend residing temporarily in New York: "You are one of a small handful of Southerners I know whom I am willing to trust for a year's study among New Englanders. But I am glad these things are for just a year. I say that because Southerners have a way of wandering off on things like these and then not returning. I have been exposed to the temptation myself and am only lately getting back on the straight and narrow, as far as sectional loyalty is concerned."

Five years ago, as a Birmingham newspaper writer just out of the University of Alabama, I believed in the South. I agreed with my friends when they talked of the South as a nation unto itself with a character of its own, and with endowments no other region in the world ever had. But I did not for long remain a true believer.

From President Roosevelt to local officials, college professors, and newspaper editors North and South, the appeal for a regional approach to American economic and social problems has been insistent, and apparently the movement for regional planning is growing. Professor Howard Mumford Jones of

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Harvard told his *Atlantic Monthly* readers in April that there is no longer a definable New England philosophy, or New England way of life, or New England point of view. No longer, even, is there a New England literature. But the South has a literature, and Southerners have their own way of life, their own philosophy, their own religion, a regional religion. New England, on the other hand, has little regional religion left. Its outlook is as national, according to Mr. Jones, as its literature and its universities. And as a good New Englander—by adoption—Mr. Jones is sad. He praised the Odum studies of Southern problems, such as farm tenancy, race relations, illiteracy, and poverty.

As one who was baptized in the religion of the South and came up gasping for breath, I say that this religion carries no answer to the problems of the South. All the hymns in praise of things Southern that the young liberals are singing will never wash away the iniquity of a narrow-minded provincialism, which unwittingly they help preserve. Local pride and undue sensitiveness to "outside criticism"—outside being defined as north of the Potomac and west of the Mississippi—are no more efficacious today than they were eighty years ago.

A distinguished Alabama editor recently commented upon an address by Mr. John Temple Graves II, one of the more romantic of the Southern progressives. The editor said:

Mr. Graves concluded with a word picture of each of the Southern states . . . and a bold summons to all Southerners of good-will and courage to make the most of what they have. What they have is superior in quality to what the rest of the world has. Mr. Graves lightly disposed of such terms as the "Old South" and the "New South," laying no store by either, but rested his case upon the merits of the all but indefinable "Eternal South."

That, I submit, is the expression of a regional religionist.

Howard Mumford Jones once remarked to Jonathan Daniels that the Southerner never completely accepts the outlander. He was right. The righteous Southerner even refuses to accept with calm a Southerner who views the South's problems critically, especially if that person has been infected by sojourns in alien lands—New England, for example. (Now, of course, I am not talking about a liberated Southerner like Mr. Daniels.) Before I departed for Harvard a year ago I told a friend that the wisest thing I could do would be to print a handbill denouncing Jefferson Davis as a scoundrel and his cohorts in rebellion as arrant fools. Then I should be run out of Alabama on a rail. That, I thought, would be better than, after a year abroad, being looked at with scorn and contempt as soon as I was heard to mutter one critical comment on Southern affairs.

Already I have had occasion to regret I did not print the incendiary handbill. I recently wrote to a Southern friend to urge his support of a liberal Southerner being worsted by a demagogic editor who had resorted to such terms as "nigger-lover" and "carpetbagger." In my letter I mentioned that I was having a happy and profitable year in Massachusetts. My correspondent answered by lecturing me, and ended with the following half-serious remark: "Maybe this letter will let you know I am still a Southerner and proud of it, and that I am beginning to think you are a damn Yankee by adoption and proud of it."

Well, I am not. Perhaps some day I shall return South. Or go West. Or I may end up in Shanghai. But my Southern religion is dead, and wherever I go I think I shall always believe with Frederick Jackson Turner that "the thing to be avoided, if the lessons of history are followed, is the insistence upon the particular interests and ideals of the section in which we live, without sympathetic comprehension of the ideals, the interests, and the rights of other sections."

There are, I repeat, advantages to be obtained by attacking problems that are regional from a regional point of view. To appreciate those problems to the full residence in other regions is eminently desirable. I am sure Jonathan Daniels, who learned a lot about the country gathering material for his "A Southerner Discovers New England," will agree. I think he will also agree that only a Southerner would be very much concerned over Nieman Fellows roving about the country.

CARROLL KILPATRICK

New York, September 20

"Gentlemen Who Never Learn"

A Reply to

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LEWIS MUMFORD

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BARBARA WERTHEIM, a former member of *The Nation's* staff, is the author of "The Lost British Policy."

PATRICIA STRAUSS, wife of G. R. Strauss, a Labor member of Parliament, recently came to the United States to place her three children in safety.

JOACHIM JOESTEN is the author of "Rats in the Larder," a study of Nazi influence in Denmark. He escaped from that country in the first days of the Nazi invasion.

GEORGE C. STONEY, a native of North Carolina, has published a series of articles on the South in the *Survey Graphic.*

LOUISE BOGAN, poetry critic of the *New Yorker,* is the author of a book of verse, "The Sleeping Fury."

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